E: L: C: F: Morau
1766 –

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

DURING THE REIGNS OF

Queen MARY and of King JAMES VI.

TILL

His ACCESSION to the Crown of ENGLAND.

WITH A

REVIEW of the SCOTTISH HISTORY previous to that Period;
And an APPENDIX containing ORIGINAL PAPERS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

By WILLIAM ROBERTSON, D.D.
Minister of LADY YESTER'S, Edinburgh.

VOLUME I.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand.
MDCCLIX.

PREFACE.

I Deliver this book to the world with all the diffidence and anxiety natural to an Author on publiſhing his firſt performance. The time I have employed, and the pains I have taken, in order to render it worthy of the public approbation, it is, perhaps, prudent to conceal, till it be known whether that approbation ſhall ever be beſtowed upon it.

But as I have departed, in many inſtances, from former Hiſtorians, as I have placed facts in a different light, and have drawn characters with new colours, I ought to account for this conduct to my readers; and to produce the evidence, on which, at the diſtance of two centuries, I preſume to contradict the teſtimony of leſs remote, or even of cotemporary hiſtorians.

The tranſactions in Mary's reign gave riſe to two parties, which were animated againſt each other with the fierceſt political hatred, embittered by religious zeal. Each of theſe produced Hiſtorians of conſiderable merit, who adopted all their ſentiments, and defended all their actions. Truth was not the ſole object of theſe

Authors. Blinded by prejudices, and heated by the part which they themſelves had acted in the ſcenes they deſcribe, they wrote an apology for a faction, rather than the hiſtory of their country. Succeeding Hiſtorians have followed theſe guides almoſt implicitly, and have repeated their errors and miſrepreſentations. But as the ſame paſſions which inflamed parties in that age have deſcended to their poſterity; as almoſt every event in Mary's Reign has become the object of doubt or of diſpute; the eager ſpirit of controverſy ſoon diſcovered, that without ſome evidence more authentic and more impartial than that of Hiſtorians, none of the points in queſtion could be decided with certainty. Records have therefore been ſearched, original papers have been produced, and public archives, as well as the repoſitories of private men, have been ranſacked by the zeal and curioſity of writers of different parties. The attention of Cecil to collect whatever related to that period, in which he acted ſo conſpicuous a part, hath provided ſuch an immenſe ſtore of original papers for illuſtrating this part of the Engliſh and Scottiſh hiſtory, as are almoſt ſufficient to ſatisfy the utmoſt avidity of an Antiquarian. Sir Robert Cotton (whoſe library is now the property of the public) made great and valu-

able

able additions to Cecil's collection; and from this magazine, Digges, the compilers of the Cabbala, Anderſon, Keith, Haynes, Forbes, have drawn moſt of the papers which they have printed. No Hiſtory of Scotland, that merits any degree of attention, has appeared ſince theſe collections were publiſhed. By conſulting them, I have been enabled, in many inſtances, to correct the inaccuracies of former Hiſtorians, to avoid their miſtakes, and to detect their miſrepreſentations.

But many important papers have eſcaped the notice of thoſe induſtrious Collectors, and after all they have produced to light, much ſtill remained in darkneſs, unobſerved or unpubliſhed. It was my duty to ſearch for theſe, and I found this unpleaſant taſk attended with conſiderable utility.

The library of the honourable faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, contains not only a large collection of original papers relating to the affairs of Scotland, but copies of others no leſs curious, which have been preſerved by Sir Robert Cotton, or are extant in the public offices in England. Of all theſe, the Curators of that library were pleaſed to allow me the peruſal.

Though

THOUGH the Britiſh Muſæum be not yet open to the public, Dr. Birch, whoſe obliging diſpoſition is well known, procured me acceſs to that noble collection, which is worthy the magnificence of a great and poliſhed nation.

THAT vaſt and curious collection of papers relating to the reign of Elizabeth, which was made by Dr. Forbes, and of which he publiſhed only two volumes, having been purchaſed, ſince his death, by the Lord Viſcount Royſton, his Lordſhip was ſo good as to allow me the uſe of fourteen Volumes in Quarto, containing that part of them which is connected with my ſubject.

SIR Alexander Dick communicated to me a very valuable collection of original papers, in two large Volumes. They relate chiefly to the reign of James. Many of them are marked with Archbiſhop Spotſwood's hand; and it appears from ſeveral paſſages in his hiſtory, that he had peruſed them with great attention.

MR. Calderwood, an eminent Preſbyterian Clergyman of the laſt century, compiled an Hiſtory of Scotland from the beginning of the reign of James V. to the death of James VI. in ſix large Volumes; wherein he has in-

ſerted many papers of conſequence, which are no where elſe to be found. A copy of this hiſtory, which ſtill remains in manuſcript, in the poſſeſſion of the Church of Scotland, was put into my hands by my worthy friend, the Reverend Mr. George Wiſhart, principal Clerk of the Church.

Sir David Dalrymple not only communicated to me the papers which he has collected relating to Gowrie's conſpiracy; but by explaining to me his ſentiments with regard to that problematical paſſage in the Scottiſh hiſtory, has enabled me to place that tranſaction in a light which diſpells much of the darkneſs and confuſion in which it has been hitherto involved.

Mr. Goodall, though he knew my ſentiments with regard to the conduct and character of Queen Mary to be extremely different from his own, communicated to me a Volume of manuſcripts in his poſſeſſion, which contains a great number of valuable papers copied from the originals in the Cottonian Library and Paper Office, by the late Reverend Mr. Crawford, Regius Profeſſor of Church Hiſtory in the Univerſity of Edinburgh. I likewiſe received from him the original Regiſter of letters kept by the Regent Lennox during his adminiſtration.

I HAVE

I HAVE conſulted all theſe papers, as far as I thought they could be of any uſe towards illuſtrating that period of which I write the hiſtory. With what ſucceſs I have employed them to confirm what was already known, to aſcertain what was dubious, or to determine what was contraverted, the public muſt judge.

I MIGHT eaſily have drawn, from the different repoſitories to which I had acceſs, as many papers as would have rendered my Appendix equal in ſize to the moſt bulky collection of my predeceſſors. But I have ſatisfied myſelf with publiſhing a few of the moſt curious among them, to which I found it neceſſary to appeal as vouchers for my own veracity. None of theſe, as far as I can recollect, ever appeared in any former collection.

I HAVE added to the Appendix a *Critical Diſſertation concerning the murder of King Henry, and the genuineneſs of the Queen's letters to Bothwell.* The facts and obſervations which relate to Mary's letters, I owe to my friend Mr. John Davidſon, one of the Clerks to the Signet, who hath examined this point with his uſual acuteneſs and induſtry.

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK I.

Containing a review of the SCOTCH *History previous to the Death of* JAMES V.

THE firſt ages of the Scotch hiſtory are dark and fabulous. Nations, as well as men, arrive at maturity by degrees, and the events, which happened during their infancy or early youth, cannot be recollected, and deſerve not to be remembered. The groſs ignorance, which anciently covered all the North of Europe, the continual migrations of its inhabitants, and the frequent and deſtructive revolutions which theſe occaſioned, render it impoſſible to give any authentic account of the origin of the different kingdoms now eſtabliſhed there. Every thing beyond that ſhort period, to which well atteſted annals reach, is obſcure; an immenſe ſpace is left for invention to occupy, each nation, with a vanity inſeparable from human nature, hath filled that void with

The origin of nations fabulous and obſcure.

BOOK I. events calculated to diſplay its own antiquity, and luſtre. And hiſtory, which ought to record truth and to teach wiſdom, often ſets out with retailing fictions and abſurdities.

Origin of the Scots. THE Scots carry their pretenſions to antiquity as high, as any of their neighbours. Relying upon uncertain legends, and the traditions of their bards, ſtill more uncertain, they reckon up a ſeries of kings ſeveral ages before the birth of Chriſt; and give a particular detail of the occurrences, which happened in their reigns. But with regard to the Scots, as well as the other northern nations, we receive the earlieſt accounts on which we can depend, not from their own,
A. D. 81. but from the Roman authors. When the Romans, under Agricola, firſt carried their arms into the northern parts of Britain, they found it poſſeſſed by the Caledonians, a fierce and warlike people; and having repulſed, rather than conquered them, they erected a ſtrong wall between the firths of Forth and Clyde, and there fixed the boundaries of their empire. Adrian, on account of the difficulty of defending ſuch a diſtant frontier, contracted the limits of
A. D. 121. the Roman province in Britain, by building a ſecond wall, which ran between Newcaſtle and Carliſle. The ambition of ſucceeding Emperors endeavoured to recover what Adrian had abandoned; and the country between the two walls was alternately under the dominion of the Romans, and the Caledonians. About the beginning of the fifth century, the inroads of the Goths and other Barbarians obliged the Romans, in order to defend the centre of their empire, to recal thoſe legions, which guarded the frontier provinces; and at that time they quitted all their conqueſts in Britain.

A. D. 421. THEIR long reſidence in the iſland had poliſhed, in ſome degree, the rude inhabitants, and the Britons were indebted to their intercourſe

courſe with the Romans, for the art of writing, and the uſe of numbers, without which it is impoſſible long to preſerve the memory of paſt events. BOOK I.

NORTH BRITAIN was, by their retreat, left under the dominion of the Scots and Picts. The former, who are not mentioned by any Roman author, before the end of the fourth century, were probably a colony of the Celtæ or Gauls; their affinity to whom appears from their language, their manners, and religious rites; circumſtances more deciſive, with regard to the origin of nations, than either fabulous traditions, or the tales of ill-informed, and credulous Annaliſts. The Scots, if we may believe the common accounts, ſettled at firſt in Ireland; and, extending themſelves by degrees, landed at laſt on the coaſts oppoſite to that iſland, and fixed their habitations there. Fierce and bloody wars were, during ſeveral ages, carried on between them and the Picts. At length, Kenneth II. the A. D. 838. ſixty-ninth King of the Scots (according to their own fabulous authors) obtained a complete victory over the Picts, and united under one monarchy, the whole country, from the wall of Adrian, to the northern ocean. And his kingdom became known by its preſent name, which it derived from a people who at firſt ſettled there as ſtrangers, and remained long obſcure and inconſiderable.

FROM this period the hiſtory of Scotland would merit ſome attention, were it accompanied with any certainty. But as our remote antiquities are involved in the ſame darkneſs with thoſe of other nations, a calamity peculiar to ourſelves has thrown almoſt an equal obſcurity over our more recent tranſactions. This was occaſioned by the malicious policy of Edward I. of England. Towards the end of the thirteenth century, this monarch called in queſtion

Hiſtory of Scotland peculiarly obſcure.

Book I. the independence of Scotland; pretending that that kingdom was held as a fief of the crown of England, and ſubjected to all the conditions of a feudal tenure. In order to eſtabliſh his claim, he ſeized the public archives, he ranſacked churches and monaſteries, and getting poſſeſſion, by force, or fraud, of many hiſtorical monuments, which tended to prove the antiquity or freedom of the kingdom, he carried ſome of them into England, and commanded the reſt to be burned *. An univerſal oblivion of paſt tranſactions might have been the effect of this fatal event, but ſome imperfect Chronicles had eſcaped the rage of Edward; foreign writers had recorded ſome important facts relating to Scotland; and the traditions concerning recent occurrences were freſh and worthy of credit. Theſe broken fragments, John de Fordun, who lived in the fourteenth century, collected with a pious induſtry, and from them picked out materials, which he formed into a regular hiſtory. His work was received by his countrymen with applauſe; and, as no recourſe could be had to more ancient records, it ſupplied the place of the authentic annals of the kingdom. It was copied in many monaſteries, and the thread of the narrative was, by different monks, continued through the ſubſequent reigns. In the beginning of the ſixteenth century, John Major and Hector Boethius publiſhed their hiſtories of Scotland, the former a ſuccinct and dry writer, the latter a copious and florid one, and both equally credulous. Not many years after, Buchanan undertook the ſame work; and if his accuracy and impartiality had been, in any degree, equal to the elegance of his taſte, and to the purity and vigour of his ſtyle, his hiſtory might be placed on a level with the moſt admired compoſitions of the ancients. But, inſtead of rejecting the improbable tales of Chronicle writers, he was at the utmoſt pains to adorn them; and

* Innes, Eſſay 552.

hath

hath cloathed with all the beauties and graces of fiction, thoſe legends, which formerly had only its wildneſs and extravagance. BOOK I.

THE hiſtory of Scotland may properly be divided into four periods. The firſt reaches from the origin of the monarchy, to the reign of Kenneth II. The ſecond, from Kenneth's conqueſt of the Picts, to the death of Alexander III. The third extends to the death of James V. The laſt, from thence to the acceſſion of James VI. to the crown of England. Four remarkable æras in the Scotch hiſtory.

THE firſt period is the region of pure fable and conjecture, and ought to be totally neglected, or be abandoned to the induſtry and credulity of antiquaries. Truth begins to dawn in the ſecond period, with a light, feeble at firſt, but gradually increaſing; and the events which then happened, may be ſlightly touched, but merit no particular or laborious enquiry. In the third period, the hiſtory of Scotland, chiefly by means of records preſerved in England, becomes more authentic: not only are events related, but their cauſes and effects explained; the characters of the actors are diſplayed; the manners of the age deſcribed; the revolutions in the conſtitution pointed out: and here every Scotſman ſhould begin, not to read only, but to ſtudy the hiſtory of his country. During the fourth period, the affairs of Scotland were ſo mingled with thoſe of other nations, its ſituation in the political ſtate of Europe was ſo important, its influence on the operations of the neighbouring kingdoms was ſo viſible, that its hiſtory becomes an object of attention to Foreigners, and without ſome knowledge of the various and extraordinary revolutions which happened there, they cannot form a juſt notion either of the moſt illuſtrious events, or of the characters of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in the ſixteenth century.

THE

BOOK I. A review of the third æra.

THE following hiſtory is confined to the laſt of theſe periods: To give a view of the political ſtate of the kingdom, during that which immediately preceded it, is the deſign of this preliminary Book. The imperfect knowledge which ſtrangers have of the affairs of Scotland, and the prejudices Scotſmen themſelves have imbibed with regard to the various revolutions in the government of their country, render ſuch an introduction equally neceſſary to both.

THE period, from the death of Alexander III. to the death of James V. contains upwards of two centuries and an half, from the year 1286, to the year 1542.

Riſe of the controverſy concerning the independence of Scotland.

IT opens with the famous controverſy concerning the independence of Scotland. Before the union of the two kingdoms, this was a queſtion of much importance. If the one Crown had been conſidered not as imperial and independent, but as feudatory to the other, a treaty of union could not have been concluded on equal terms, and every advantage which the dependent kingdom procured, muſt have been eſteemed the conceſſion of a Sovereign to his vaſſal. Accordingly, about the beginning of the preſent century, and while a treaty of union between the two kingdoms was on foot, this controverſy was agitated with all the heat, which national animoſities naturally inſpire. What was then a ſubject of ſerious concern, the union of the two kingdoms hath rendered a matter of mere curioſity. But though the objects, which at that time warmed and intereſted both nations, exiſt no longer, a queſtion which appeared ſo momentous to our anceſtors, cannot be altogether indifferent or uninſtructive to us.

SOME of the northern counties of England were early in the hands of the Scotch Kings, who, as far back as the feudal cuſtoms can be traced,

traced, held theſe poſſeſſions of the King of England, and did homage to them on that account. This homage due only for the territories which they held in England, was in no wiſe derogatory from their royal dignity. Nothing is more ſuitable to feudal ideas, than that the ſame perſon ſhould be both a Lord and a Vaſſal, independent in one capacity, and dependent in another *. The Crown of England was without doubt imperial and independent, though the Princes who wore it were, for many ages, the vaſſals of the Kings of France; and, in conſequence of their poſſeſſions in that kingdom, bound to perform all the ſervices, which a feudal Sovereign has a title to exact. The ſame was the condition of the Monarchs of Scotland; free and independent as Kings, but, as poſſeſſing Engliſh territories, vaſſals to the King of England. The Engliſh Monarchs, ſatisfied with their legal and uncontroverted rights, were neither capable, nor had any thoughts of uſurping more. England, when conquered by the Saxons, being divided by them into many ſmall kingdoms, was in no condition to extend its dominion over Scotland, united at that time under one Monarch. And though theſe petty principalities were gradually formed into one kingdom, the reigning Princes expoſed to continual invaſions of the Danes, and often ſubjected to the yoke of thoſe formidable pirates, ſeldom turned their arms towards Scotland, and were utterly incapable of eſtabliſh-

* A very ſingular proof of this occurs in the French hiſtory. Arpin ſold the vicompté of the city Bourges to Philip I. who did homage to the Count of Sancerre for a part of theſe lands, which held of that Nobleman, A. D. 1100. I believe that no example, of a King's doing homage to one of his own ſubjects, is to be met with in the hiſtories either of England or Scotland. Philip le Bel aboliſhed this practice in France A. D. 1302. *Henaut. Abregé Chronol.* Somewhat ſimilar to this, is a charter of the Abbot of Melroſs, A. D. 1535, conſtituting James V. the Bailiff or Steward of that abbey, veſting in him all the powers which pertained to that office, and requiring him to be anſwerable to the Abbot for his exerciſe of the ſame. *Archiv. publ. Edin.*

ing

BOOK I. THE following hiſtory is confined to the laſt of theſe periods: To give a view of the political ſtate of the kingdom, during that which immediately preceded it, is the deſign of this preliminary Book. The imperfect knowledge which ſtrangers have of the affairs of Scotland, and the prejudices Scotſmen themſelves have imbibed with regard to the various revolutions in the government of their country, render ſuch an introduction equally neceſſary to both.

A review of the third æra.

THE period, from the death of Alexander III. to the death of James V. contains upwards of two centuries and an half, from the year 1286, to the year 1542.

Riſe of the controverſy concerning the independence of Scotland.

IT opens with the famous controverſy concerning the independence of Scotland. Before the union of the two kingdoms, this was a queſtion of much importance. If the one Crown had been conſidered not as imperial and independent, but as feudatory to the other, a treaty of union could not have been concluded on equal terms, and every advantage which the dependent kingdom procured, muſt have been eſteemed the conceſſion of a Sovereign to his vaſſal. Accordingly, about the beginning of the preſent century, and while a treaty of union between the two kingdoms was on foot, this controverſy was agitated with all the heat, which national animoſities naturally inſpire. What was then a ſubject of ſerious concern, the union of the two kingdoms hath rendered a matter of mere curioſity. But though the objects, which at that time warmed and intereſted both nations, exiſt no longer, a queſtion which appeared ſo momentous to our anceſtors, cannot be altogether indifferent or uninſtructive to us.

SOME of the northern counties of England were early in the hands of the Scotch Kings, who, as far back as the feudal cuſtoms can be traced,

traced, held theſe poſſeſſions of the King of England, and did homage to them on that account. This homage due only for the territories which they held in England, was in no wiſe derogatory from their royal dignity. Nothing is more ſuitable to feudal ideas, than that the ſame perſon ſhould be both a Lord and a Vaſſal, independent in one capacity, and dependent in another *. The Crown of England was without doubt imperial and independent, though the Princes who wore it were, for many ages, the vaſſals of the Kings of France; and, in conſequence of their poſſeſſions in that kingdom, bound to perform all the ſervices, which a feudal Sovereign has a title to exact. The ſame was the condition of the Monarchs of Scotland; free and independent as Kings, but, as poſſeſſing Engliſh territories, vaſſals to the King of England. The Engliſh Monarchs, ſatisfied with their legal and uncontroverted rights, were neither capable, nor had any thoughts of uſurping more. England, when conquered by the Saxons, being divided by them into many ſmall kingdoms, was in no condition to extend its dominion over Scotland, united at that time under one Monarch. And though theſe petty principalities were gradually formed into one kingdom, the reigning Princes expoſed to continual invaſions of the Danes, and often ſubjected to the yoke of thoſe formidable pirates, ſeldom turned their arms towards Scotland, and were utterly incapable of eſtabliſh-

* A very ſingular proof of this occurs in the French hiſtory. Arpin ſold the vicompté of the city Bourges to Philip I. who did homage to the Count of Sancerre for a part of theſe lands, which held of that Nobleman, A. D. 1100. I believe that no example, of a King's doing homage to one of his own ſubjects, is to be met with in the hiſtories either of England or Scotland. Philip le Bel aboliſhed this practice in France A. D. 1302. *Henaut. Abregé Chronol.* Somewhat ſimilar to this, is a charter of the Abbot of Melroſs, A. D. 1535, conſtituting James V. the Bailiff or Steward of that abbey, veſting in him all the powers which pertained to that office, and requiring him to be anſwerable to the Abbot for his exerciſe of the ſame. *Archiv. publ. Edin.*

ing

Book I. ing new rights in that country. The firſt Kings of the Norman race, buſied with introducing their own laws and manners into the kingdom which they had conquered, or with maintaining themſelves on the throne which ſome of them poſſeſſed by a very dubious title, were as little ſolicitous to acquire new authority, or to form new pretenſions in Scotland. An unexpected calamity that befel one of the Scotch Kings firſt encouraged the Engliſh to think of bringing his kingdom under dependence. William King of Scotland being taken priſoner at Alnwick, Henry II. as the price of his liberty, not only extorted from him an exorbitant ranſom, and a promiſe to ſurrender the places of greateſt ſtrength in his dominions, but compelled him to do homage for his whole kingdom. Richard I. a generous Prince, ſolemnly renounced this claim of homage, and abſolved William from the hard conditions which Henry had impoſed. Upon the death of Alexander III. near a century after, Edward I. availing himſelf of the ſituation of affairs in Scotland, acquired an influence in that kingdom, which no Engliſh Monarch before him ever poſſeſſed, and imitating the intereſted policy of Henry, rather than the magnanimity of Richard, revived the claim of ſovereignty to which the former had pretended.

Pretenſions of Bruce and Baliol examined.

MARGARET of Norway, Grandaughter of Alexander, and heir to his Crown, did not long ſurvive him. The right of ſucceſſion belonged to the deſcendants of David Earl of Huntington, third ſon of King David I. Among theſe, Robert Bruce, and John Baliol, two illuſtrious competitors for the Crown, appeared. Bruce was the ſon of Iſabel Earl David's ſecond daughter; Baliol, the grandſon of Margaret the eldeſt daughter. According to the rules of ſucceſſion which are now eſtabliſhed, the right of Baliol was preferable, and notwithſtanding Bruce's plea of being nearer in blood to Earl David, Baliol's claim, as the repreſentative of his mother and grandmother

mother would be deemed inconteſtible. But, in that age, the order of ſucceſſion was not aſcertained with the ſame preciſion. The queſtion appeared to be no leſs intricate, than it was important. And though the prejudices of the people, and perhaps the laws of the kingdom, favoured Bruce, each of the rivals was ſupported by a powerful faction. Arms alone, it was feared, muſt terminate a diſpute too weighty for the laws to decide. But, in order to avoid the miſeries of a civil war, Edward was choſen Umpire, and both parties agreed to acquieſce in his decree. This had well nigh proved fatal to the independence of Scotland; and the nation, by its eagerneſs to guard againſt a civil war, was not only expoſed to that calamity, but almoſt ſubjected to a foreign yoke. Edward was artful, brave, enterpriſing, and commanded a powerful and martial people, at peace with the whole world. The anarchy which prevailed in Scotland and the ambition of competitors ready to ſacrifice their country in order to obtain even a dependent Crown, invited him firſt to ſeize, and then to ſubject the kingdom. The authority of an umpire, which had been unwarily beſtowed upon him, and from which the Scots dreaded no dangerous conſequences, enabled him to execute his ſchemes with the greater facility. Under pretence of examining the queſtion with the utmoſt ſolemnity, he ſummoned all the Scottiſh Barons to Norham, and having gained ſome, and intimidated others, he prevailed on all who were preſent, not excepting Bruce and Baliol, the competitors, to acknowledge Scotland a fief of the Engliſh Crown, and to ſwear fealty to him as their *Sovereign* or *Liege Lord*. This ſtep led to another ſtill more important. As it was vain to pronounce a ſentence which he had not power to execute, Edward demanded poſſeſſion of the kingdom, that he might be able to deliver it to him whoſe right ſhould be found preferable. And ſuch was the puſillanimity of the nobles, and the impatient ambition of the com-

Book I. petitors, that both aſſented to this ſtrange demand, and Gilbert de Umfraville, Earl of Angus, was the only man, who refuſed to ſurrender the caſtles in his cuſtody to the enemy of his country. Edward finding Baliol the moſt obſequious and the leaſt formidable of the two competitors, ſoon after gave judgment in his favour. Baliol once more profeſſed himſelf the vaſſal of England, and ſubmitted to every condition, which the Sovereign whom he had now acknowledged was pleaſed to preſcribe.

Edward, having thus placed a creature of his own upon the throne of Scotland, and compelled the nobles to renounce the ancient liberties and independence of their country, had reaſon to conclude that his dominion was now fully eſtabliſhed. But he began too ſoon to aſſume the maſter; his new vaſſals, fierce and independent, bore with impatience a yoke, to which they were not accuſtomed. Provoked by his haughtineſs, even the paſſive ſpirit of Baliol began to mutiny. But Edward, who had no longer uſe for ſuch a pageant King, forced him to reſign the Crown, and openly attempted to ſeize it as fallen to himſelf, by the rebellion of his vaſſal. At that critical period, aroſe Sir William Wallace, a hero, to whom the fond admiration of his countrymen hath aſcribed many fabulous acts of proweſs, though his real valour, as well as integrity and wiſdom, is ſuch, as needs not the heightenings of fiction. He, almoſt ſingle, ventured to take arms in defence of the kingdom, and his boldneſs revived the ſpirit of his countrymen. At laſt, Robert Bruce, the grandſon of him who ſtood in competition with Baliol, appeared to aſſert his own rights, and to vindicate the honour of his country. The nobles aſhamed of their former baſeneſs, and inraged at the many indignities offered to the nation, crowded to his ſtandard. In order to cruſh him at once, the Engliſh Monarch entered Scotland,

at the head of a mighty army. Many battles were fought, and the Scots, though often vanquiſhed, were not ſubdued. The ardent zeal with which the nobles contended for the independence of the kingdom, the prudent valour of Bruce, and above all a national enthuſiaſm inſpired by ſuch a cauſe, baffled the repeated efforts of Edward, and counterbalanced all the advantages which he derived from the number, and wealth of his ſubjects. And though the war continued with little intermiſſion upwards of ſeventy years, Bruce and his poſterity kept poſſeſſion of the throne of Scotland, and ruled with an authority not inferior to that of its former Monarchs.

But while the ſword, the ultimate judge of all diſputes between contending nations, was employed to terminate this controverſy, neither Edward nor the Scots ſeemed to diſtruſt the juſtice of their cauſe; and both appealed to hiſtory and records, and from theſe produced, in their own favour, ſuch evidence as they pretended to be unanſwerable. The letters and memorials addreſſed by each party to the Pope, who was then reverenced as the common father, and often appealed to as the common judge of all Chriſtian Princes, are ſtill extant. The fabulous tales of the early Britiſh hiſtory; the partial teſtimony of ignorant Chroniclers; ſuppoſititious treaties and charters; are the proofs, on which Edward founded his title to the ſovereignty of Scotland; and the homage done by the Scotch Monarchs for their lands in England, is prepoſterouſly ſuppoſed to imply the ſubjection of their whole kingdom *. Ill founded, however, as their right was, the Engliſh did not fail to revive it, in all the ſubſequent quarrels between the two kingdoms; while the Scots diſclaimed it with the utmoſt indignation. To this, we muſt impute the fierce and implacable hatred to each other, which long inflamed both. Their national an-

* Anderſon's Hiſtorical Eſſay concerning the Independency, &c.

BOOK I. tipathies were excited, not only by the uſual circumſtances of frequent hoſtilities, and reciprocal injuries; but the Engliſh conſidered the Scots as vaſſals who had preſumed to rebel, and the Scots, in their turn regarded the Engliſh, as uſurpers who aimed at enſlaving their country.

1306. State of the kingdom when Bruce began his reign.

AT the time, when Robert Bruce began his reign in Scotland, the ſame form of government was eſtabliſhed in all the kingdoms of Europe. And the ſurpriſing ſimilarity, in their conſtitution and laws, demonſtrates that the nations which overturned the Roman empire, and erected theſe kingdoms, though divided into different tribes, and diſtinguiſhed by different names, were originally the ſame people. When we take a view of the feudal ſyſtem of laws and policy, that ſtupendous and ſingular fabric erected by them; the firſt object that ſtrikes us is the King. And when we are told that he is the ſole proprietor of all the lands within his dominions, that all his ſubjects derive their poſſeſſions from him, and in return conſecrate their lives to his ſervice; when we hear that all marks of diſtinction, and titles of dignity, flow from him as the only fountain of honour; when we behold the moſt potent Peers, on their bended knees, and with folded hands, ſwearing fealty at his feet, and acknowledging him to be their *Sovereign*, and their *Liege Lord*; we are apt to pronounce him a powerful, nay an abſolute Monarch. No concluſion, however, would be more raſh, or worſe founded. The genius of the feudal government was purely ariſtocratical. With all the enſigns of royalty, and with many appearances of deſpotic power, a feudal King was the moſt limited of all Princes.

Origin of the Feudal Government, and its ariſtocratical genius.

BEFORE they ſallied out of their own habitations to conquer the world, many of the northern nations ſeem not to have been ſubject to

to the government of kings *; and even where monarchical government was eſtabliſhed, the prince poſſeſſed but little authority. A general rather than a king, his military command was extenſive, his civil juriſdiction almoſt nothing †. The army which he led was not compoſed of ſoldiers, who could be compelled to ſerve, but of ſuch as voluntarily followed his ſtandard ‡. Theſe conquered not for their leader, but for themſelves; and being free in their own country, renounced not their liberty when they acquired new ſettlements. They did not exterminate the ancient inhabitants of the countries, which they ſubdued, but ſeizing the greater part of their lands, they took their perſons under protection. And the difficulty of maintaining a new conqueſt, as well as the danger of being attacked by new invaders, rendering it neceſſary to be always in a poſture of defence, the form of government which they eſtabliſhed, was altogether military, and nearly reſembled that to which they had been accuſtomed in their native country. Their general ſtill continuing to be the head of the colony, part of the conquered lands were allotted to him; the remainder, under the name of *beneficia* or *fiefs*, was divided amongſt his principal officers. As the common ſafety required that theſe officers ſhould, upon all occaſions, be ready to appear in arms, for the common defence, and ſhould continue obedient to their general, they bound themſelves to take the field, when called, and to ſerve him with a number of men, in proportion to the extent of their territory. Theſe great officers, again parcelled out their lands among their followers, and annexed the ſame condition to the grant. A feudal kingdom was properly the encampment of a great army; military ideas predominated, military ſubordination was eſtabliſhed, and the poſſeſſion of land was the pay which ſoldiers received for their perſonal ſervice. In con-

* Cæſ. lib. vi. c. 23. † Tacit. de Mor. Germ. c. 7. 11. ‡ Cæſ. ibid.

ſequence

BOOK I. ſequence of theſe notions, the poſſeſſion of land was granted during pleaſure only, and kings were elective. In other words, an officer diſagreeable to his general was deprived of his pay, and the perſon who was moſt capable of conducting an army, was choſen to command it. Such were the firſt rudiments, or infancy of feudal government.

BUT long before the beginning of the fourteenth century, the feudal ſyſtem had undergone many changes, of which the following were the moſt conſiderable. Kings formerly elective, were then hereditary; and fiefs granted at firſt during pleaſure, deſcended from father to ſon, and were become perpetual. Theſe changes, not leſs advantageous to the nobles, than to the prince, made no alteration in the ariſtocratical ſpirit of the feudal conſtitution. The king, who at a diſtance, ſeemed to be inveſted with majeſty and power, appears, on a nearer view, to poſſeſs none of thoſe advantages, which beſtow on monarchs their grandeur and authority. His revenues were ſcanty; he had not a ſtanding army; and he enjoyed no proper juriſdiction.

General cauſes which limited the power of the feudal monarchs.

AT a time when pomp and ſplendor were unknown, even in the palaces of kings; when the officers of the crown received little ſalary beſides the fees and perquiſites of their office; when embaſſies to foreign courts were rare; when armies were compoſed of ſoldiers who ſerved without pay; it was not neceſſary that a king ſhould poſſeſs a great revenue; nor did the condition of Europe, in thoſe ages, allow its princes to be opulent. Commerce made little progreſs in the kingdoms, where the feudal government was eſtabliſhed. Inſtitutions, which had no other object but to inſpire a martial ſpirit, to train men to be ſoldiers, and to make arms the only honourable profeſſion, naturally diſcouraged the commer-

Their revenues were ſmall.

commercial arts. The revenues, ariſing from the taxes impoſed on the different branches of commerce, were by conſequence inconſiderable, and the prince's treaſury received little ſupply from a ſource, which, among a trading people, flows with ſuch abundance, and is almoſt inexhauſtible. A fixed tax was not levied even on land; ſuch a burthen would have appeared intolerable to men who received their eſtates, as the reward of their valour, and who conſidered their ſervice in the field as a full retribution for what they poſſeſſed. The king's *demeſnes*, or the portion of land which he ſtill retained in his own hands unalienated, furniſhed ſubſiſtence to his court, and defrayed the ordinary expence of government *. The only ſtated taxes which the feudal law obliged vaſſals to pay to the king, or to thoſe of whom they held their lands, were three; one when his eldeſt ſon was made a knight; another when his eldeſt daughter was married; and a third in order to ranſom him if he ſhould happen to be taken priſoner. Beſides theſe, the king received the feudal caſualties of the ward, marriage, &c. of his own vaſſals. And, on ſome extraordinary occaſions, his ſubjects granted him an aid, which they diſtinguiſhed by the name of a *benevolence*, in order to declare that he received it not in conſequence of any right, but as a gift, flowing from their good-will ‡. All theſe added together, produced a revenue, ſcanty and precarious, which far from enabling the king to attempt any thing that could excite the jealouſy or fear of the nobles, kept him in continual indigence, anxiety, and dependence.

They had no ſtanding armies.

Nor could the king ſupply the defect of his revenues, by the terror of his arms. Mercenary troops, and ſtanding armies were unknown as long as the feudal government ſubſiſted in vigour.

* Craig. de Feud. lib. 1. Dieg. 14. Du Cange Gloſſ. voc. Dominicum.

‡ Du Cange voc. Auxilium.

Europe

Book I. Europe was peopled with ſoldiers. The vaſſals of the king, and the ſub-vaſſals of the barons were all obliged to carry arms. And while the poverty of princes prevented them from fortifying their frontier towns, while a campaign continued but a few weeks, and while a fierce and impetuous courage was impatient to bring every quarrel to the deciſion of a battle, an army, without pay, and with little diſcipline, was ſufficient for all the purpoſes both of the ſecurity and of the glory of a nation. Such an army, however, far from being an engine at the king's diſpoſal, was often no leſs formidable to him, than to his enemies. The more warlike any people were, the more independant they became; and the ſame perſons being both ſoldiers and ſubjects, civil privileges and immunities were the conſequence of their victories, and the reward of their martial exploits. Conquerors, whom mercenary armies, under our preſent forms of government, often render the tyrants of their own people, as well as the ſcourges of mankind, were commonly, under the feudal conſtitution, the moſt indulgent of all princes to their ſubjects, becauſe they ſtood moſt in need of their aſſiſtance. A prince whom even war and victories did not render the maſter of his own army, poſſeſſed no ſhadow of military power during times of peace. His diſbanded ſoldiers mingled with his other ſubjects; not a ſingle man received pay from him; many ages elapſed even before a guard was appointed to defend his perſon; and deſtitute of that great inſtrument of dominion a ſtanding army, the authority of the king continued always feeble, and was often contemptible.

Their juriſdiction was limited.

Nor were theſe the only circumſtances, which contributed towards depreſſing the regal power. By the feudal ſyſtem, the king's judicial authority was extremely circumſcribed. At firſt, princes ſeem to have been the ſupreme judges of their people, and, in perſon, heard and determined all controverſies among them. The multiplicity

tiplicity of cauſes ſoon made it neceſſary to appoint judges, who, in the king's name decided matters, that belonged to the royal juriſdiction. But the Barbarians, who overran Europe, having deſtroyed moſt of the great cities, and the countries which they ſeized being cantoned out among powerful barons, who were blindly followed by numerous vaſſals, whom, in return, they were bound to protect from every injury; the adminiſtration of juſtice was greatly interrupted, and the execution of any legal ſentence became almoſt impracticable. Theft, rapine, murder, and diſorder of all kinds prevailed in every kingdom of Europe, to a degree almoſt incredible, and ſcarce compatible with the ſubſiſtence of civil ſociety. Every offender ſheltered himſelf under the protection of ſome powerful chieftain, who ſcreened him from the purſuits of juſtice. To apprehend, and to puniſh a criminal, often required the union and effort of half a kingdom *. In order

* A remarkable inſtance of this occurs in the following hiſtory, ſo late as the year 1561. Mary, having appointed a court of juſtice to be held on the borders, the inhabitants of no leſs than eleven counties were ſummoned to guard the perſon, who was to act as judge, and to enable him to enforce his deciſions, p. 234. The words of a proclamation, which afford ſuch a convincing proof of the feebleneſs of the feudal government, deſerve our notice.—"And becauſe it is neceſſary for the execution of her Highneſs' commandments, and ſervice, that her juſtice be well accompanied, and her authority ſufficiently fortified, by the concurrence of a good power of her faithful ſubjects—Therefore commands and charges all and ſundry Earls, Lords, Barons, Freeholders, Landed-men, and other Gentlemen, dwelling within the ſaid counties, that they, and every one of them, with their kin, friends, ſervants, and houſhold men, well bodin in feir of war in the moſt ſubſtantious manner, [i. e. compleatly armed and provided,] and with twenty days victuals, to meet and to paſs forward with him to the borrough of Jedburgh, and there to remain during the ſaid ſpace of twenty days, and to receive ſuch direction and commands, as ſhall be given by him to them in our Sovereign Lady's name, for quietneſs of the country; and to put the ſame in execution under the pain of loſing their life, lands and goods." Keith's Hiſt. of Scotland, 198.

Book I. to remedy theſe evils, many perſons of diſtinction were entruſted with the adminiſtration of juſtice within their own territories. But what we may preſume was, at firſt, only a temporary grant, or a perſonal privelege, the incroaching ſpirit of the nobles ſoon converted into a right, and rendered hereditary. The lands of ſome were erected into *Baronies*, thoſe of others into *Regalities*. The juriſdiction of the former was extenſive, that of the latter, as the name implies, royal, and almoſt unbounded. All cauſes, whether civil or criminal, were tried by judges, whom the lord of the regality appointed; and if the king's courts called any perſon within his territory before them, the lord of regality might put a ſtop to their proceedings, and by the privilege of *repledging*, remove the cauſe to his own court, and even puniſh his vaſſal, if he ſubmitted to a foreign juriſdiction *. Thus almoſt every queſtion, in which any perſon, who reſided on the lands of the nobles, was intereſted, being determined by judges appointed by the nobles themſelves, their vaſſals were ſcarce ſenſible of being, in any degree, ſubject to the crown. A feudal kingdom was ſplit into many ſmall principalities, almoſt independent, and held together by a feeble and commonly an imperceptible bond of union. And the king was not only ſtripped of the authority annexed to the perſon of a ſupreme judge, but his revenue ſuffered no ſmall diminution, by the loſs of thoſe pecuniary emoluments, which were, in that age, due to the perſon who adminiſtred juſtice.

In the ſame proportion that the king ſunk in power, the nobles roſe towards independence. Not ſatisfied with having obtained a hereditary right to their fiefs, which they formerly held during plea-

* Craig, lib. iii. Dieg. 7.

ſure,

ſure, their ambition aimed at ſomething bolder, and by introducing *entails*, endeavoured, as far as human ingenuity and invention can reach that end, to render their poſſeſſions unalienable and everlaſting. As they had full power to add to the inheritance tranſmitted to them from their anceſtors, but none to diminiſh it; time alone, by means of marriages, legacies, and other accidents, brought continual acceſſions of wealth, and of dignity; a great family, like a river, became conſiderable from the length of its courſe, and as it rolled on, new honours and new property flowed ſucceſſively into it. Whatever influence is derived from titles of honour, the feudal barons, likewiſe, poſſeſſed in an ample manner. Theſe marks of diſtinction are, in their own nature, either official or perſonal, and being annexed to a particular charge, or beſtowed by the admiration of mankind upon illuſtrious characters, ought to be appropriated to theſe. But the ſon, however unworthy, could not bear to be ſtripped of that appellation, by which his father had been diſtinguiſhed. His preſumption claimed, what his virtue did not merit; titles of honour became hereditary, and added new luſtre to nobles already in poſſeſſion of too much power. Something more audacious, and more extravagant ſtill remained. The ſupreme direction of all affairs, both civil and military, being committed to the great officers of the crown, the fame and ſafety of princes, as well as of their people, depended upon the fidelity and abilities of theſe officers. But ſuch was the prepoſterous ambition of the nobles, and ſo ſucceſsful even their wildeſt attempts to aggrandize themſelves, that in all the kingdoms where the feudal inſtitutions prevailed, moſt of theſe offices were annexed to great families, and held, like fiefs, by hereditary right. A perſon whoſe undutiful behaviour rendered him odious to his prince, or whoſe incapacity expoſed him

Book I. to the contempt of the people, often held a place of power and truſt, of the greateſt importance to both. In Scotland, the offices of Lord Juſtice General, Great Chamberlain, High Steward, High Conſtable, Earl Marſhal, and High Admiral, were all hereditary; and in many counties, the office of Sheriff was held in the ſame manner.

Nobles, whoſe property was ſo extenſive, and whoſe power ſo great, could not fail of being turbulent and formidable. Nor did they want inſtruments for executing their boldeſt deſigns. That portion of their lands, which they parcelled out among their followers, ſupplied them with a numerous band of faithful and determined vaſſals; while that, which they retained in their own hands, enabled them to live with a princely ſplendour. The great hall of an ambitious baron was often more crowded than the court of his ſovereign. The ſtrong caſtles, in which they reſided, afforded a ſecure retreat to the diſcontented and ſeditious. A great part of their revenue was ſpent upon multitudes of indigent, but bold retainers. And if at any time they left their retreat, to appear in the court of their ſovereign, they were accompanied, even in times of peace, with a vaſt train of armed followers. The uſual retinue of William the Sixth Earl of Douglas conſiſted of 2000 horſe. Thoſe of the other nobles were magnificent and formidable in proportion. Impatient of ſubordination, and forgetting their proper rank, theſe potent and haughty barons were the rivals, rather than the ſubjects of their prince. They often deſpiſed his orders, inſulted his perſon, and wreſted from him his crown. And the hiſtory of Europe, during ſeveral ages, contains little elſe, but the accounts of the wars and revolutions, occaſioned by their exorbitant ambition.

But,

BUT, if the authority of the barons far exceeded its proper bounds in the other nations of Europe, we may affirm that the balance which ought to be preſerved between a king and his nobles was intirely loſt in Scotland. The Scottiſh nobles enjoyed, in common with thoſe of other nations, all the means for extending their authority which ariſe from the ariſtocratical genius of the feudal government. Beſides theſe, they poſſeſſed advantages peculiar to themſelves; the accidental ſources of their power were conſiderable; and ſingular circumſtances concurred with the ſpirit of the conſtitution to aggrandiſe them. To enumerate the moſt remarkable of theſe, will ſerve both to explain the political ſtate of the kingdom, and to illuſtrate many important occurrences, in the period now under our review.

Their power greater in Scotland than in any other kingdom.

The particular cauſes of this.

I. THE nature of their country was one cauſe of the power and independence of the Scottiſh nobility. Level and open countries are formed for ſervitude. The authority of the ſupreme magiſtrate reaches with eaſe to the moſt diſtant corners, and when nature has erected no barrier, and affords no retreat, the guilty or obnoxious are ſoon detected, and puniſhed. Mountains, and fens, and rivers ſet bounds to deſpotic power, and amidſt theſe, is the natural ſeat of freedom and independence. In ſuch places, did the Scottiſh nobles uſually fix their reſidence. By retiring to his own caſtle, a mutinous baron could defy the power of his ſovereign; it being impracticable to lead an army, through a barren country, to places, almoſt inacceſſible to a ſingle man. The ſame cauſes, which checked the progreſs of the Roman arms, and rendered all the efforts of Edward I. abortive, often protected the Scottiſh nobles from the vengeance of their prince; and they owed their perſonal independence,

The nature of the country.

Book I. dence, to thoſe very mountains and marſhes, which ſaved their country from being conquered.

The ſmall number of great cities.

II. The want of great cities in Scotland contributed not a little to increaſe the power of the nobility, and to weaken that of the Prince. Where-ever numbers of men aſſemble together, order muſt be eſtabliſhed, and a regular form of government inſtituted, the authority of the magiſtrate muſt be recognized, and his deciſions meet with prompt and full obedience. Laws and ſubordination take riſe in cities; and where there are few cities as in Poland, or none as in Tartary, there are few or no traces of any ſort of police. But under the feudal governments, commerce, the chief means of aſſembling mankind, was neglected; the nobles, in order to ſtrengthen their influence over their vaſſals, reſided among them, and ſeldom appeared at court, where they found a ſuperior, or dwelt in cities, where they met with equals. In Scotland, the rich counties in the ſouth lying open to the Engliſh, no town ſituated there could riſe to be great or populous amidſt continual inroads and alarms: the reſidence of our monarchs was not fixed to any particular place; many parts of the country were barren and uncultivated; and in conſequence of theſe peculiar circumſtances, added to the general cauſes flowing from the nature of the feudal inſtitutions, the towns in Scotland were extremely few, and very inconſiderable. The vaſſals of every baron occupied a diſtinct portion of the kingdom, and unmingled with others, formed a ſeparate and almoſt independent ſociety. Inſtead of giving aid towards reducing to obedience their ſeditious Chieftain, or any whom he took under his protection, they were all in arms for his defence, and obſtructed the operations of juſtice to the utmoſt. The prince was obliged to connive at criminals, whom he could not reach; the nobles, conſcious

ſcious of this advantage, were not afraid to offend; and the difficul- BOOK I.
ty of puniſhing almoſt aſſured them of impunity.

III. THE diviſion of the country into clans had no ſmall effect in rendering the nobles conſiderable. The nations, which over-ran Europe, were originally divided into many ſmall tribes; and when they came to parcel out the lands which they had conquered, it was natural for every chieftain to beſtow a portion, in the firſt place, upon thoſe of his own tribe or family. Theſe all held their lands of him; and as the ſafety of each individual depended on the general union, theſe ſmall ſocieties clung together, and were diſtinguiſhed by ſome common appellation, either patronymical, or local, long before the introduction of ſirnames, or *enſigns armorial*. But when theſe became common, the deſcendants and relations of every Chieftain aſſumed the ſame name and arms with him; other vaſſals were proud to imitate their example, and by degrees they were communicated to all thoſe who held of the ſame ſuperior. Thus clanſhips were formed; and in a generation or two, that conſanguinity which was, at firſt in a great meaſure, imaginary, was believed to be real. An artificial union was converted into a natural one; men willingly followed a leader, whom they regarded both as the ſuperior of their lands, and the chief of their blood, and ſerved him not only with the fidelity of vaſſals, but with the affection of friends. In the other feudal kingdoms, we may obſerve ſuch unions as we have deſcribed, imperfectly formed; but in Scotland, whether they were the production of chance, or the effect of policy, or introduced by the Iriſh colony above-mentioned, and ſtrengthened by carefully preſerving their genealogies both genuine and fabulous, clanſhips were univerſal. Such a confederacy might be overcome, it could not be broken; and no change of man-

The inſtitution of Clans.

ners,

Book I. ners, or of government, has been able, in ſome parts of the kingdom, to diſſolve aſſociations which are founded upon prejudices ſo natural to the human mind. How formidable were nobles at the head of followers, who, counting that cauſe juſt and honourable which their chief approved, were ever ready to take the field at his command, and to ſacrifice their lives in defence of his perſon, or of his fame? Againſt ſuch men, a king contended with great diſadvantage, and that cold ſervice, which money purchaſes, or authority extorts, was not an equal match for their ardour and zeal.

The ſmall number of the nobles.

IV. The ſmallneſs of their number may be mentioned among the cauſes of the grandeur of the Scottiſh nobles. Our annals reach not back to the firſt diviſion of property in the kingdom; but ſo far as we can trace the matter, the original poſſeſſions of the nobles ſeem to have been extenſive. The ancient Thanes were the equals and the rivals of their prince. Many of the earls and barons, who ſucceeded them, were maſters of territories no leſs ample. France and England, countries wide and fertile, afforded ſettlements to a numerous and powerful nobility. Scotland, a kingdom neither extenſive nor rich, could not contain many ſuch overgrown proprietors. But the power of an ariſtocracy always diminiſhes, in proportion to the increaſe of its numbers; feeble if divided among a multitude; irreſiſtible if centered in a few. When nobles are numerous, their operations nearly reſemble thoſe of the people, they are rouſed by what they feel only, not by what they apprehend; and ſubmit to many arbitrary and oppreſſive acts, before they take arms againſt their ſovereign. A ſmall body, on the contrary, is more ſenſible, and more impatient; quick in diſcerning, and prompt in repelling danger; all its motions are as ſudden, as thoſe of the other are ſlow. Hence proceeded the extreme jealouſy,

louſy, with which the Scottiſh nobles obſerved their monarchs, and the fierceneſs with which they oppoſed their incroachments. Even the virtue of a prince did not render them leſs vigilant, or leſs eager to defend their rights; and Robert Bruce, notwithſtanding the ſplendor of his victories, and the glory of his name, was upon the point of experiencing the vigour of their reſiſtance, no leſs than his unpopular deſcendent James III. Beſides this, the near alliance of the great families, by frequent intermarriages, was the natural conſequence of their ſmall number. And as conſanguinity was, in thoſe ages, a powerful bond of union, all the kindred of a nobleman intereſted themſelves in his quarrel, as a common cauſe, and every conteſt the king had, though with a ſingle baron, ſoon drew upon him the arms of a whole confederacy.

Their leagues and combinations.

V. THOSE natural connexions both with their equals, and with their inferiors, the Scottiſh nobles ſtrengthened by a device, which if not peculiar to themſelves, was at leaſt more frequent among them, than in any other nation. Even in times of profound peace, they formed aſſociations, which when made with their equals, were called *leagues of mutual defence*; and when with their inferiors, *bonds of manrent*. By the former, the contracting parties bound themſelves mutually to aſſiſt each other, in all cauſes, and againſt all perſons. By the latter, protection was ſtipulated on the one hand, and fidelity and perſonal ſervice promiſed on the other *. Self-preſervation, it is probable, forced men at firſt into theſe confederacies, and while diſorder and rapine were univerſal, while government was unſettled, and the authority of laws little known or regarded, near neighbours found it neceſſary to unite in this manner for their ſecurity,

* Act. 30. Parl. 1424. Act. 43. P. 1555.

Book I.

and the weak were obliged to court the patronage of the ſtrong. By degrees, theſe aſſociations became ſo many alliances offenſive and defenſive againſt the throne; and as their obligation was held to be more ſacred than any tie whatever, they gave much umbrage to our kings, and contributed not a little to the power and independence of the nobility. In the reign of James II. William the eighth earl of Douglas entered into a league of this kind with the earls of Crawford, Roſs, Murray, Ormond, the lords Hamilton, Balveny, &c. and ſo formidable was this combination to the king, that he had recourſe to a meaſure no leſs violent than unjuſt, in order to diſſolve it.

The frequent wars with England.

VI. The frequent wars between England and Scotland proved another cauſe of augmenting the power of the nobility. Nature has placed no barrier between the two kingdoms; a river, almoſt every where fordable, divides them towards the eaſt; on the weſt they are ſeparated by an imaginary line. The ſmall revenues of our kings prevented them from fortifying, or placing garriſons in the towns on the frontier; nor would the jealouſy of their ſubjects have permitted ſuch a method of defence. The barons, whoſe eſtates lay near the borders, conſidered themſelves as bound in honour and intereſt to repell the enemy. The *wardenſhips* of the different *marches*, offices of great truſt and dignity, were always beſtowed on them. This gained them the leading of the warlike counties in the ſouth; and their vaſſals, living in a ſtate of perpetual hoſtility, or enjoying at beſt an inſecure peace, became more inured to war than even the reſt of their countrymen, and more willing to accompany their chieftain in his moſt hardy and dangerous enterprizes. It was the valour, no leſs than the number of their followers, that rendered the Douglaſes great. The nobles in the northern and midland counties were often dutiful and obſequious to the

the crown, but our monarchs always found it impracticable to ſubdue the mutinous and ungovernable ſpirit of the borderers. In all our domeſtic quarrels, thoſe, who could draw to their ſide the inhabitants of the ſouthern counties, were ſure of victory; and conſcious of this advantage, the lords who poſſeſſed authority there, were apt to forget the duty which they owed their ſovereign, and to aſpire beyond the rank of ſubjects.

The frequent minorities which happened in Scotland.

VII. THE calamities which befel our kings contributed more than any other cauſe to diminiſh the royal authority. Never was any race of monarchs ſo unfortunate as the Scotch. Of ſix ſucceſſive princes, from Robert III. to James VI. not one died a natural death; and the minorities, during that time, were longer, and more frequent, than ever happened in any other kingdom. From Robert Bruce to James VI. we reckon ten princes; and ſeven of theſe were called to the throne, while they were minors, and almoſt infants. Even the moſt regular and beſt eſtabliſhed governments feel ſenſibly the pernicious effects of a minority, and either become languid and inactive, or are thrown into violent and unnatural convulſions. But, under the imperfect and ill adjuſted ſyſtem of government in Scotland, theſe effects were ſtill more fatal; and the fierce and mutinous ſpirit of the nobles, unreſtrained by the authority of a king, ſcorned all ſubjection to the delegated juriſdiction of a regent, or to the feeble commands of a minor. The royal authority was circumſcribed within narrower limits than ever; the prerogatives of the crown, naturally inconſiderable, were reduced almoſt to nothing; and the ariſtocratical power gradually roſe upon the ruins of the monarchical. Leſt the perſonal power of a regent ſhould enable him to act with too much vigour, the authority annexed to that office, was ſometimes rendered inconſiderable, by being

BOOK I.

divided; or if a ſingle regent was choſen, the greater nobles, and the heads of the more illuſtrious families, were ſeldom raiſed to that dignity. It was often conferred upon men, who poſſeſſed little influence, and excited no jealouſy. They, conſcious of their own weakneſs, were obliged to overlook ſome irregularities, and to permit others; and in order to ſupport their authority, which was deſtitute of real ſtrength, they endeavoured to gain the moſt powerful and active barons, by granting them poſſeſſions and immunities, which raiſed them to ſtill greater power. When the king himſelf came to aſſume the reins of government, he found his revenues waſted or alienated, the crown lands ſeized or given away, and the nobles ſo accuſtomed to independence, that after the ſtruggles of a whole reign, he was ſeldom able to reduce them to the ſame ſtate, in which they had been at the beginning of his minority, or to wreſt from them what they had uſurped during that time. If we take a view of what happened to each of our kings, who was ſo unfortunate as to be placed in this ſituation, the truth and importance of this obſervation will fully appear.

Review of the events favourable to the nobles during each minority.

1329. David II.

THE minority of David II. the ſon of Robert Bruce, was diſturbed by the pretenſions of Edward Baliol, who, relying on the aid of England, and on the ſupport of ſome diſaffected barons among the Scots, invaded the kingdom. The ſucceſs which at firſt attended his arms, obliged the young king to retire to France; and Baliol took poſſeſſion of the throne. A ſmall body of the nobles, however, continuing faithful to their exiled prince, drove Baliol out of Scotland; and after an abſence of nine years, David returned from France, and took the government of the kingdom into his own hands. But nobles, who were thus waſting their blood and treaſure in defence of the crown, had a right to the undiſturbed

diſturbed poſſeſſion of their ancient privileges; and even ſome title to arrogate new ones. It ſeems to have been a maxim, in that age, that every leader might claim as his own, the territory which his ſword had won from the enemy. Great acquiſitions were gained by the nobility in that way; and to theſe the gratitude and liberality of David added, by diſtributing, among ſuch as adhered to him, the vaſt poſſeſſions which fell to the crown by the forfeiture of his enemies. The family of Douglas, which began to riſe above the other nobles, in the reign of his father, augmented both its power and its property, during his minority.

JAMES I. was ſeized by the Engliſh during the continuance of a truce, and ungenerouſly detained a priſoner, almoſt nineteen years. During that period, the kingdom was governed, firſt by his uncle Robert Duke of Albany, and then, by Murdo his ſon. Both theſe noblemen aſpired to the crown, and their unnatural ambition, if we may believe moſt of our hiſtorians, not only cut ſhort the days of Prince David, the King's elder brother, but prolonged the captivity of James. They flattered themſelves, that they might ſtep with leſs oppoſition into a throne, when almoſt vacant; and dreading the King's return, as the extinction of their authority, and the end of their hopes, they carried on the negociations for obtaining his liberty, with extreme remiſſneſs. At the ſame time, they neglected nothing that could either ſooth or bribe the nobles to approve their ſcheme. They ſlackened the reins of government, they allowed the prerogative to be encroached upon; they ſuffered the moſt irregular acts of power, and even wanton inſtances of oppreſſion, to paſs with impunity; they dealt out the patrimony of the crown among thoſe whoſe enmity they dreaded, or whoſe favour they had gained; and reduced the royal authority to a ſtate

1405. James I.

of

BOOK I. of imbecillity, from which ſucceeding monarchs laboured in vain to raiſe it.

1437. James II. DURING the minority of James II. the adminiſtration of affairs and the cuſtody of the King's perſon were committed to Sir William Crichton, and Sir Alexander Livingſton. Jealouſy and diſcord were the effects of their conjunct authority, and each of them, in order to ſtrengthen himſelf, beſtowed new power and privileges upon the great men, whoſe aid he courted. While the young Earl of Douglas, encouraged by their diviſions, erected a ſort of independent principality within the kingdom; and forbidding his vaſſals to acknowledge any authority but his own, he created Knights, appointed a privy council, named officers civil and military, aſſumed every enſign of Royalty, but the title of King, and appeared in public with a magnificence more than royal.

1460. James III. EIGHT perſons were choſen to govern the kingdom during the minority of James III. Lord Boyd, however, by ſeizing the perſon of the young King, and by the aſcendant which he acquired over him, ſoon engroſſed the whole authority. He formed the ambitious project of raiſing his family to the ſame pitch of power and grandeur with thoſe of the prime nobility; and he effected it. While intent on this, he relaxed the vigour of government, and the Barons became accuſtomed, once more, to anarchy and independence. The power, which Boyd had been at ſo much pains to acquire, was of no long continuance, and the fall of his family, according to the fate of favourites, was ſudden and deſtructive; but upon its ruins, the family of Hamilton roſe, which ſoon attained the higheſt rank in the kingdom.

As

As the minority of James V. was longer, it was likewiſe more turbulent than thoſe of the preceding Kings. And the contending nobles, encouraged or protected either by the King of France, or of England, formed themſelves into more regular factions, and diſregarded more than ever the reſtraints of order and authority. The French had the advantage of ſeeing one, devoted to their intereſt, raiſed to be regent. This was the Duke of Albany, a native of France, and a grandſon of James II. But Alexander Lord Home, the moſt eminent of all the Scottiſh peers, who ſurvived the fatal battle of Flowden, thwarted all his meaſures, during the firſt years of his adminiſtration; and the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, ſiſter of Henry VIII. rendered the latter part of it no leſs feeble. Though ſupported by French auxiliaries, the nobles deſpiſed his authority, and regardleſs either of his threats, or his entreaties, peremptorily refuſed, two ſeveral times, to enter England, to the borders of which kingdom he had led them. Provoked by theſe repeated inſtances of contempt, the regent abandoned his troubleſome ſtation, and retiring to France, preferred the tranquillity of a private life, to an office deſtitute of real authority. Upon his retreat, Douglas Earl of Angus became maſter of the King's perſon, and governed the kingdom in his name. Many efforts were made to deprive him of his uſurped authority. But the numerous vaſſals and friends of his family adhered to him, becauſe he divided with them the power and emoluments of his office; the people reverenced and loved the name of Douglas; without the title of regent, he exerciſed a fuller and more abſolute authority than any who had enjoyed that dignity; and the ancient, but dangerous preeminence of the Douglaſes, ſeemed to be reſtored.

BOOK I.

To theſe, and to many other cauſes, omitted or unobſerved by us, did the Scottiſh nobility owe that exorbitant and uncommon power, of which inſtances occur, ſo frequently, in our hiſtory. Nothing however, demonſtrates ſo fully the extent of their power, as the length of its duration. Many years after the declenſion of the feudal ſyſtems in the other kingdoms of Europe, and when the arms or policy of Princes had, every where, ſhaken, or laid it in ruins, the foundations of that ancient fabric remained firm and untouched in Scotland.

The power of the feudal nobles became intolerable to Princes.

THE powers, which the feudal inſtitutions veſted in the nobles, ſoon became intolerable to all the Princes of Europe, who longed to poſſeſs ſomething more than a nominal and precarious authority. Their impatience to obtain this, precipitated Henry III. of England, Edward II. and ſome other weak Princes, into raſh and premature attempts againſt the privileges of the Barons, in which they were diſappointed, or periſhed. Princes, of greater abilities, were content to mitigate evils which they could not cure, they ſought occupation for the turbulent ſpirit of their nobles, in frequent wars; and allowed their fiery courage to evaporate in foreign expeditions, which, if they brought no other advantage, ſecured at leaſt domeſtic tranquillity. But, time and accidents ripened the feudal governments for deſtruction. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, and beginning of the ſixteenth, all the Princes of Europe attacked, as if by concert, the power of their nobles. Men of genius then undertook with ſucceſs, what their unſkilful predeceſſors had attempted in vain. Lewis XI. of France, the moſt profound and the moſt adventrous genius of that age, began, and in a ſingle reign, almoſt compleated the ſcheme of their deſtruction. The ſure but concealed policy of Henry VII. of England produced the ſame

The attempts to humble the nobles ſucceſsful in France and in England.

effect

effect. The means, indeed, employed by theſe monarchs were very different. The blow, which Lewis ſtruck, was ſudden and fatal. The artifices of Henry reſembled thoſe ſlow poiſons, which waſte the conſtitution, but become not mortal till ſome diſtant period. Nor did they produce conſequences leſs oppoſite. Lewis boldly added to the crown whatever he wreſted from the nobles. Henry undermined his Barons, by encouraging them to ſell their lands, which enriched the commons, and gave them a weight in the legiſlature unknown to their predeceſſors. But while theſe great revolutions were carrying on in two kingdoms, with which Scotland was intimately connected, no alteration happened there; the King neither extended his own prerogative, nor enabled the commons to encroach upon the ariſtocracy; the nobles not only retained their ancient privileges and poſſeſſions, but daily made new acquiſitions.

But the nobles continue to gather ſtrength in Scotland.

THIS was not owing to the inattention of our Princes, or to their want of ambition. They were abundantly ſenſible of the exorbitant power of the nobility, and extremely ſolicitous to humble that order. They did not, however, poſſeſs means ſufficient for accompliſhing that end. The reſources of our monarchs were few, and the progreſs which they made inconſiderable. But as the number of their followers, and the extent of their juriſdiction, were the two chief circumſtances which rendered the nobles formidable; in order to counterballance the one, and to reſtrain the other, all our Kings had recourſe to the ſame expedients.

Our Kings endeavoured to extend the royal authority.

General means towards this end.

I. AMONG nobles of a fierce courage, and of unpoliſhed manners, ſurrounded with vaſſals bold and licentious, whom they were bound by intereſt and honour to protect, the cauſes of diſcord

Encourage diſcord among the nobles.

Book I. were many and unavoidable. And as the contending parties could ſeldom agree in acknowledging the authority of any common ſuperior or judge, and their impatient ſpirit would ſeldom wait the ſlow deciſions of juſtice, their quarrels were uſually terminated by the ſword. The offended Baron aſſembled his vaſſals, and waſted the lands, or ſhed the blood of his enemy. To forgive an injury, was mean, to forbear revenge infamous or cowardly *. Hence quarrels were tranſmitted from father to ſon, and under the name of *deadly feuds*, ſubſiſted for many generations, with unmitigated rancour. It was the intereſt of the crown to foment rather than to extinguiſh theſe quarrels, and by ſcattering or cheriſhing the ſeeds of diſcord among the nobles, that union which would have rendered the ariſtocracy invincible, and which muſt at once have annihilated the prerogative, was effectually prevented. To the ſame cauſe, our Kings were indebted for the ſucceſs, with which they ſometimes attacked the moſt powerful chieftains. They employed private revenge to aid the impotence of public laws, and arming againſt the

* The ſpirit of revenge was encouraged, not only by the manners, but what is more remarkable, by the laws of thoſe ages. If any perſon thought the proſecution of an injury offered to his family, too troubleſome, or too dangerous, the Salique laws permitted him publickly to deſiſt from demanding vengeance; but the ſame laws, in order to puniſh his cowardice, and want of affection to his family, deprived him of the right of ſucceſſion. Henaut. Abregé Chronol. p. 81. Among the Anglo-Saxons, we find a ſingular inſtitution diſtinguiſhed by the name of *ſodalitium*; a voluntary aſſociation, the object whereof was the perſonal ſecurity of thoſe who joined in it, and which the feebleneſs of government at that time rendered neceſſary. Among other regulations, which are contained in one of thoſe ſtill extant, the following deſerves notice. "If any aſſociate ſhall either eat or drink with a perſon who has killed any member of the *ſodalitium*, unleſs in the preſence of the King, the Biſhop, or the Count, and unleſs he can prove that he did not know the perſon, let him pay a great fine." Hicks Diſſert. Epiſtolar. apud Theſaur. Ling. Septentr. vol. i. p. 21.

perſon who had incurred their diſpleaſure, thoſe rival families which wiſhed his fall, they rewarded their ſervice, by ſharing among them the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed. But this expedient, though it ſerved to humble individuals, did not weaken the body of the nobility. Thoſe, who were now the inſtruments of their Prince's vengeance, became, in a ſhort time, the objects of his fear. Having acquired power and wealth by ſerving the crown, they, in their turn, ſet up for independence; and though there might be a fluctuation of power, and of property, though old families fell, and new ones roſe upon their ruins, the rights of the ariſtocracy remained intire, and its vigour unbroken.

Extend the juriſdiction of the King's courts.

II. As the adminiſtration of juſtice is one of the moſt powerful ties between a King and his ſubjects, all our monarchs were at the utmoſt pains to circumſcribe the juriſdiction of the Barons, and to extend that of the crown. The external forms of ſubordination, natural to the feudal ſyſtem, favoured this attempt. An appeal lay from the judges and courts of the Barons, to thoſe of the King. The right, however, of judging in the firſt inſtance, belonged to the nobles, and they eaſily found means to defeat the effect of appeals, as well as of many other feudal regulations. The royal juriſdiction was almoſt confined within the narrow limits of the King's demeſnes, beyond which, his judges claimed indeed much authority, but poſſeſſed next to none. Our Kings were ſenſible of theſe limitations, and bore them with impatience. But it was impoſſible to overturn in a moment, what was ſo deeply rooted; or to ſtrip the nobles, at once, of privileges which they had held ſo long, and which were wrought almoſt into the frame of the feudal conſtitution. To accompliſh this, however, was an object of uniform and anxious attention to all our princes. James I. led the way, here, as well as in other inſtances, towards a more regular and perfect

BOOK I. police. He made choice, among the eſtates of parliament, of a certain number of perſons, whom he diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Lords of Seſſion*, and appointed them to hold courts for determining civil cauſes, three times in the year, and forty days at a time, in whatever place he pleaſed to name. Their juriſdiction extended to all matters, which formerly came under the cognizance of the King's council, and being a committee of parliament, their deciſions were final. James II. obtained a law, annexing all regalities, which ſhould be forfeited, to the crown, and declaring the right of juriſdiction to be unalienable for the future. James III. impoſed ſevere penalties upon thoſe judges appointed by the Barons, whoſe deciſions ſhould be found on a review to be unjuſt; and by many other regulations, endeavoured to extend the authority of his own court *. James IV. on pretence of remedying the inconveniencies ariſing from the ſhort terms of the court of Seſſion, appointed other judges called *Lords of daily council.* The *Seſſion* was an ambulatory court, and met ſeldom; the Daily council, was fixed, and ſat conſtantly at Edinburgh; and though not compoſed of members of parliament, the ſame powers, which the Lords of Seſſion enjoyed, were veſted in it. At laſt, James V. erected a new court, that ſtill ſubſiſts, and which he named the *College of Juſtice*, the judges or *Senators* of which were called *Lords of Council* and *Seſſion*. This court not only exerciſed the ſame juriſdiction which formerly belonged to the Seſſion and Daily Council, but new rights were added. Privileges of great importance were granted to its members, its forms were preſcribed, its terms fixed, and regularity, power and ſplendor conferred upon it. The perſons conſtituted judges in all theſe different courts, had, in

* Act. 26. P. 1469. Act. 94. P. 1493. Act. 99. P. 1487.

many reſpects, the advantage of thoſe who preſided in the courts of the Barons; they were more eminent for their ſkill in law, their rules of proceeding were more uniform, and their deciſions more conſiſtent. Such judicatories became the objects of confidence, and of veneration. Men willingly ſubmitted their property to their determination, and their incroachments on the juriſdictions of the nobles were popular, and for that reaſon ſucceſsful. By devices of a ſimilar nature, the juriſdiction of the nobles in criminal cauſes was reſtrained, and the authority of the court of *Juſticiary* extended. The crown, in this particular, gaining inſenſibly upon the nobles, recovered more ample authority; and the King, whoſe juriſdiction once reſembled that of a Baron, rather than that of a Sovereign *,

* The moſt perfect idea of the feudal ſyſtem of government may be attained by attending to the ſtate of Germany, and to the hiſtory of France. In the former, the feudal inſtitutions ſtill ſubſiſt with great vigour; and though altogether aboliſhed in the latter, the public records have been ſo carefully preſerved, that the French lawyers and antiquaries have been enabled, with more certainty and preciſion, than thoſe of any other country in Europe, to trace its riſe, its progreſs, and revolutions in Germany, every principality may be conſidered as a fief, and all its great Princes as vaſſals, holding of the Emperor. They poſſeſs all the feudal privileges; their fiefs are perpetual; their juriſdictions within their own territories, ſeparate and extenſive; and the great offices of the empire are all hereditary, and annexed to particular families. At the ſame time, the Emperor retains many of the prerogatives of the feudal monarchs. Like them, his claims and pretenſions are innumerable, and his power ſmall; his juriſdiction within his own demeſnes, or hereditary countries, is compleat; beyond the bounds of theſe it is almoſt nothing. And ſo permanent are feudal principles, that although the feudal ſyſtem be overturned in almoſt every particular ſtate in Germany, and although its Princes have all become abſolute, the original feudal conſtitution of the empire ſtill remains, and ideas peculiar to that form of government, direct all its operations, and determine the rights of all its Princes. Our obſervations, with regard to the limited juriſdiction of Kings under the feudal governments, are greatly illuſtrated by what happened

BOOK I. came more and more to be conſidered as the head of the community, and the ſupreme diſpenſer of juſtice to his people. Theſe acquiſitions of our Kings, however, though comparatively great, were in reality inconſiderable; and notwithſtanding all their efforts, many of the ſeparate juriſdictions poſſeſſed by the nobles remained in great vigour; and their final abolition was reſerved to a diſtant and more happy period.

Each of our King's purſued ſome plan of humbling the nobles.

BUT beſides theſe methods of defending their prerogative, and humbling the ariſtocracy, which may be conſidered as common to all our Princes, we ſhall find, by taking a review of their reigns, that almoſt every one of our Kings, from Robert Bruce to James V. had formed ſome particular ſyſtem for depreſſing the authority of the nobles, which was the object both of their jealouſy and terror. This conduct of our monarchs, if we reſt ſatisfied with the accounts of their hiſtorians, muſt be conſidered as flowing entirely from their reſentment againſt particular noblemen; and all their attempts to humble them, muſt be viewed as the ſallies of private paſſion, not as the conſequences of any general plan of policy. But, though ſome of their actions may be imputed to

happened in France. The feebleneſs and dotage of the deſcendants of Charlemaigne encouraged the Peers to uſurp an independent juriſdiction. Nothing remained in the hands of the crown; all was ſeized by them. When Hugh Capet aſcended the throne, A. D. 987. he kept poſſeſſion of his private patrimony the Comté of Paris, and all the juriſdiction, which the Kings his ſucceſſors exerciſed for ſome time, was within its territories. There were only four towns in France, where he could eſtabliſh *Grands Baillis*, or royal judges; all the other lands, towns, and baillages belonged to the nobles. The methods to which the French monarchs had recourſe for extending their juriſdiction were exactly ſimilar to thoſe employed by our Princes. Henaut's Abregé, p. 617, &c. De L'Eſprit des Loix, Liv. 30. ch. 20, &c.

thoſe

thoſe paſſions, though the different genius of the men, the temper of the times, and the ſtate of the nation neceſſarily occaſioned great variety in their ſchemes, yet, without being chargeable with exceſſive refinement, we may affirm that their end was uniformly the ſame. And the project of reducing the power of the ariſtocracy ſometimes avowed, and purſued with vigour; ſometimes concealed, or ſeemingly ſuſpended; was never altogether abandoned.

This proved by a review of the events in their reigns.

No Prince was ever more indebted to his nobles than Robert Bruce. Their valour conquered the kingdom, and placed him on the throne. His gratitude and generoſity beſtowed on them the lands of the vanquiſhed. Property has ſeldom undergone greater or more ſudden revolutions, than thoſe to which it was ſubject, at that time, in Scotland. Edward I. having forfeited the eſtates of moſt of the ancient Scottiſh Barons, granted them to his Engliſh ſubjects. Theſe were expelled by the Scots, and their lands ſeized by new maſters. Amidſt ſuch rapid changes, confuſion was unavoidable; and many poſſeſſed their lands by titles extremely defective. During one of thoſe truces between the two nations, occaſioned rather by their being weary of war, than deſirous of peace, Robert formed a ſcheme for checking the growing power and wealth of the nobles. He ſummoned them to appear, and to ſhew by what rights they held their lands. They aſſembled accordingly, and the queſtion being put, they ſtarted up, at once, and drew their ſwords, "By theſe, ſaid they, we acquired our lands, and with theſe we will defend them." The King, intimidated by their boldneſs, prudently dropt the project. But ſo deeply did they reſent this attack upon their order, that notwithſtanding Robert's popular and ſplendid virtues, it occaſioned a dangerous conſpiracy againſt his life.

Robert Bruce.

Book I. David II. DAVID his ſon, at firſt an exile in France, afterwards a priſoner in England, and involved in continual war with Edward III. had not leiſure to attend to the internal police of his kingdom, or to think of retrenching the privileges of the nobility.

Robert II. OUR hiſtorians have been more careful to relate the military, than the civil tranſactions of the reign of Robert II. Skirmiſhes and inroads of little conſequence, they deſcribe minutely, but with regard to every thing that happened, during ſeveral years of tranquillity, they are altogether ſilent.

Robert III. THE feeble adminiſtration of Robert III. muſt likewiſe be paſſed over ſlightly. A Prince, of a mean genius, and of a frail and ſickly conſtitution, was no fit perſon to enter the liſts with active and martial barons, or to attempt wreſting from them any of their rights.

James I. THE civil tranſactions in Scotland are better known ſince the beginning of the reign of James I. and a compleat ſeries of our laws ſupplies the defects of our hiſtorians. The Engliſh made ſome amends for their injuſtice in detaining that Prince a priſoner, by their generous care of his education. During his long reſidence in England, he had an opportunity of obſerving the feudal ſyſtem in a more advanced ſtate, and refined from many of the imperfections which ſtill adhered to it, in his own kingdom. He ſaw their nobles great, but not independent; a King powerful, though far from abſolute; he ſaw a regular adminiſtration of government; wiſe laws enacted; and a nation flouriſhing and happy, becauſe all ranks of men were accuſtomed to obey them. Full of theſe ideas, he returned into his native country, which preſented to him a very different ſcene. The royal

royal authority, never great, was now contemptible, by being ſo long delegated to regents. The ancient patrimony, and revenues of the crown, were almoſt totally alienated. During his long abſence, the name of a King was little known, and leſs regarded. The licence of many years had rendered the nobles independent. Univerſal anarchy prevailed. The weak were expoſed to the rapine and oppreſſion of the ſtrong. In every corner ſome barbarous chieftain ruled at pleaſure, and neither feared the King, nor pitied the people *. BOOK II.

JAMES was too wiſe a Prince to employ open force to correct ſuch inveterate evils. Neither the men, nor the times would have born it. He applied the gentler, and leſs offenſive remedy of laws and ſtatutes. In a parliament held immediately after his return, he gained the confidence of his people, by many wiſe laws, tending viſibly to re-eſtabliſh order, tranquillity and juſtice in the kingdom. But, at the ſame time, that he endeavoured to ſecure theſe bleſſings to his ſubjects, he diſcovered his intention to recover thoſe poſſeſſions, of which the crown had been unjuſtly bereaved; and for that purpoſe obtained an act by which he was impowered to ſummon thoſe, who had obtained crown lands during the three laſt reigns, to produce the rights by which they held them †. As this ſtatute threatened the property of the nobles, another which paſſed in a ſubſequent parliament, aimed a dreadful blow at their power. By it, the

* A cotemporary Monkiſh writer deſcribes theſe calamities very feelingly, in his rude Latin. In diebus illis, non erat lex in Scotia, ſed quilibet potentiorum juniorem oppreſſit; et totum regnum fuit unum latrocinium; homicidia, deprædationes, incendia, et cætera maleficia remanſerunt impunita; et juſtitia relegata extra terminos regni exulavit. Chartular. Morav. apud Innes Eſſay, vol. i. p. 272.

† Act. 9. P. 1424.

Book II. leagues and combinations, which we have already deſcribed, and which rendered the nobles ſo formidable to the crown, were declared unlawful *. Encouraged by this ſucceſs in the beginning of his enterprize, James's next ſtep was ſtill bolder and more deciſive. During the ſitting of parliament, he ſeized, at once, his couſin Murdo Duke of Albany, and his ſons; the Earls of Douglas, Lennox, Angus, March, and above twenty other Peers and Barons of prime rank. To all of them, however, he was immediately reconciled, except to Albany, and his ſons, and Lennox. Theſe were tried by their Peers, and condemned; for what crime is now unknown. Their execution ſtruck the whole order with terror, and their forfeiture added vaſt poſſeſſions to the crown. He ſeized, likewiſe, the earldoms of Buchan and Strathern, upon different pretexts; and that of Mar fell to him by inheritance. The patience and inactivity of the nobles, while the King was proceeding ſo rapidly towards aggrandizing the crown, are amazing. The only obſtruction he met with was from a ſlight inſurrection headed by the Duke of Albany's youngeſt ſon, and that was eaſily ſuppreſſed. The ſplendor and preſence of a King, to which the great men had been long unaccuſtomed, inſpired reverence: James was a Prince of great abilities, and conducted his operations with much prudence. He was in friendſhip with England, and cloſely allied with the French King: He was adored by the people, who enjoyed unuſual ſecurity and happineſs under his adminiſtration: And all his acquiſitions, however fatal to the body of the nobles, had been gained by attacks upon individuals; were obtained by deciſions of law; and being founded on circumſtances peculiar to the perſons who ſuffered, might excite murmurs and apprehenſions, but afforded no colourable pretext for a general rebellion. It was not ſo with the

* Act. 30. P. 1424.

next

next attempt which the King made. Encouraged by the facility with which he had hitherto advanced, he ventured upon a meaſure that irritated the whole body of the nobility, and which the event ſhews either to have been entered into with too much precipitancy, or to have been carried on with too much violence. The father of George Dunbar Earl of March had taken arms againſt Robert III. the King's father; but that crime had been pardoned, and his lands reſtored by Robert Duke of Albany. James, on pretext that the regent had exceeded his power, and that it was the prerogative of the King alone to pardon treaſon, or to alienate lands annexed to the crown, obtained a ſentence declaring the pardon to be void, and depriving Dunbar of the earldom. Many of the great men held lands by no other right than what they derived from grants of the two Dukes of Albany. Such a deciſion, though they had reaſon to expect it in conſequence of the ſtatute which the King had obtained, occaſioned a general alarm. Though Dunbar was, at preſent, the only ſufferer, the precedent might be extended, and their titles to poſſeſſions, which they conſidered as the rewards of their valour, might be ſubjected to the review of courts of law, whoſe forms of proceeding, and juriſdiction, were in a martial age little known, and extremely odious. Terror and diſcontent ſpread faſt upon this diſcovery of the King's intentions; the common danger called on the whole order to unite, and to make one bold ſtand, before they were ſtripped ſucceſſively of their acquiſitions, and reduced to a ſtate of poverty and inſignificance. The prevalence of theſe ſentiments among the nobles encouraged a few deſperate men, the friends or followers of thoſe who had been the chief ſufferers under the King's adminiſtration, to form a conſpiracy againſt his life. The firſt uncertain intelligence of this was brought him, while he lay in his camp before Roxburgh caſtle. He durſt not confide in nobles, to

Book II. whom he had given ſo many cauſes of diſguſt, but inſtantly diſmiſſed them and their vaſſals, and retiring to a monaſtery near Perth, was ſoon after murdered there, in the moſt cruel manner. All our hiſtorians mention, with aſtoniſhment, this circumſtance of the King's diſbanding his army, at a time, when it was ſo neceſſary for his preſervation. A King, ſay they, ſurrounded with his Barons, is ſecure from ſecret treaſon, and may defy open rebellion. But thoſe very Barons were the perſons whom he chiefly dreaded; and it is evident, from this review of his adminiſtration, that he had greater reaſon to apprehend danger, than to expect defence, from their hands. It was the misfortune of James, that his maxims and manners were too refined for the age in which he lived. Happy! had he reigned in a kingdom more civilized; his love of peace, of juſtice, and of elegance, would have rendered his ſchemes ſucceſsful; and inſtead of his periſhing becauſe he had attempted too much, a grateful people would have applauded and ſeconded his efforts to reform and to improve them.

James II. CRICHTON, the moſt able man of thoſe, who had the direction of affairs during the minority of James II. had been the miniſter of James I. and well acquainted with his reſolution of humbling the nobility. He did not relinquiſh the deſign, and he endeavoured to inſpire his pupil with the ſame ſentiments. But what James had attempted to effect ſlowly, and by legal means, his ſon and Crichton purſued with the impetuoſity natural to Scotſmen, and with the fierceneſs peculiar to that age. William the ſixth Earl of Douglas was the firſt victim to their barbarous policy. That young nobleman (as we have already obſerved) contemning the authority of an infant Prince, almoſt openly renounced his allegiance, and aſpired to independency. Crichton, too high-ſpirited to bear ſuch an

an inſult, but too weak to curb or to bring to juſtice ſo powerful an offender, decoyed him by many promiſes to an interview in the caſtle of Edinburgh, and, notwithſtanding theſe, murdered both him and his brother. Crichton, however, gained little by this act of treachery, which rendered him univerſally odious. William the eighth Earl of Douglas was no leſs powerful, and no leſs formidable to the crown. By forming the league which we already mentioned with the Earl of Crawfurd and other Barons, he had united againſt his Sovereign almoſt one half of his kingdom. But his credulity led him into the ſame ſnare, which had been fatal to the former Earl. Relying on the King's promiſes, who had now attained to the years of manhood, and having obtained a ſafe conduct under the great ſeal, he ventured to meet him in Stirling caſtle. James urged him to diſſolve that dangerous confederacy into which he had entered; the Earl obſtinately refuſed; "If you will not," ſaid the enraged monarch, drawing his dagger "this ſhall;" and ſtabbed him to the heart. An action ſo unworthy of a King filled the nation with aſtoniſhment, and with horror. The Earl's vaſſals ran to arms with the utmoſt fury, and dragging the ſafe conduct, which the King had granted and violated, at a horſe's tail, they marched towards Stirling, burnt the town, and threatened to beſiege the caſtle. An accommodation enſued, on what terms is not known. But the King's jealouſy, and the new Earl's power and reſentment, prevented it from being of long continuance. Both took the field, at the head of their armies, and met near Abercorn. That of the Earl, compoſed chiefly of borderers, was far ſuperior to the King's both in number, and in valour; and a ſingle battle muſt, in all probability, have decided whether the houſe of Stewart or of Douglas was henceforth to poſſeſs the throne of Scotland. But, while his troops impatiently expected the ſignal to engage, the

Earl

Book II. Earl ordered them to retire to their camp, and Sir James Hamilton of Cadyow, the perſon in whom he placed the greateſt confidence, convinced of his want of genius to improve an opportunity, or of his want of courage to ſeize a crown, deſerted him that very night. This example was followed by many; and the Earl, deſpiſed, or forſaken by all, was ſoon driven out of the kingdom, and obliged to depend for his ſubſiſtence, on the friendſhip of the King of England. The ruin of this great family, which had ſo long rivalled and overawed the crown, and the terror with which ſuch an example of unſucceſsful ambition filled the nobles, ſecured the King, for ſome time, from oppoſition; and the royal authority remained uncontrouled and almoſt abſolute. James did not ſuffer this favourable interval to paſs unimproved; he procured the conſent of parliament to laws more advantageous to the prerogative, and more ſubverſive of the privileges of the ariſtocracy, than were ever obtained by any former or ſubſequent monarch of Scotland.

By one of theſe, not only all the vaſt poſſeſſions of the Earl of Douglas were annexed to the crown, but all prior and future alienations of crown lands were declared to be void, and the King was impowered to ſeize them at pleaſure, without any proceſs or form of law, and oblige the poſſeſſors to refund whatever they had received from them *. A dreadful inſtrument of oppreſſion in the hands of a Prince.

Another law prohibited the wardenſhip of the marches to be granted hereditarily; reſtrained, in ſeveral inſtances, the juriſdiction of that office; and extended the authority of the King's courts †.

* Act. 41. P. 1455. † Ibid. Act. 42.

By

By a third, it was ordained that no *Regality*, or exclusive right of administring justice within a man's own lands, should be granted in time to come, without the consent of parliament *, a condition, which implied almost an express prohibition. Those nobles who already possessed that great privilege, would naturally be sollicitous to prevent it from becoming common, by being bestowed on many. Those, who had not themselves attained it, would envy others the acquisition of such a flattering distinction; and both would concur in rejecting the claims of new pretenders.

By a fourth act, all new grants of hereditary offices were prohibited, and those obtained since the death of the last King were revoked †.

Each of these statutes undermined some of the great pillars, on which the power of the aristocracy rested. During the remainder of his reign, this Prince pursued the plan which he had begun, with the utmost vigour; and had not a sudden death, occasioned by the splinter of a cannon which burst near him at the siege of Roxburgh, prevented his progress, he wanted neither genius nor courage to perfect it: and Scotland might, in all probability, have been the first kingdom in Europe, which would have seen the subversion of the feudal system.

James III. discovered no less eagerness than his father or grandfather to humble the nobility; but far inferior to either of them in abilities and address, he adopted a plan extremely impolitic, and his reign was disastrous, as well as his end tragical. Under the feudal governments, the nobles were not only the King's ministers, James III.

* Ibid. Act. 43. † Act. 44.

Book II. and poſſeſſed of all the great offices of power or of truſt; they were, likewiſe, his companions and favourites, and ſcarce any but them approached his perſon, or were entitled to his regard. But James, who both feared and hated his nobles, kept them at an unuſual diſtance, and beſtowed every mark of confidence and affection upon a few mean perſons, of profeſſions ſo diſhonourable, as ought to have rendered them unworthy of his preſence. Shut up with theſe, in his caſtle of Stirling, he ſeldom appeared in public, and amuſed himſelf with architecture, muſic, and other arts, which were then little eſteemed. The nobles beheld the power and favour of theſe minions, with indignation. Even the ſanguinary meaſures of his father provoked them leſs than his neglect. Individuals alone ſuffered by the former; by the latter, every man thought himſelf injured, becauſe all were contemned. Their diſcontent was much heightened by the King's recalling all rights of crown lands, hereditary offices, regalities, and every other conceſſion, which was detrimental to his prerogative, and which had been extorted during his minority. Combinations among themſelves, ſecret intrigues with England, and all the uſual preparatives for civil war, were the effects of their reſentment. Alexander Duke of Albany, and John Earl of Mar, the King's brothers, two young men of turbulent and ambitious ſpirits, and incenſed againſt James, who treated them with the ſame coldneſs as he did the other great men, entered deeply into all their cabals. The King detected their deſigns, before they were ripe for execution, and ſeizing his two brothers, committed the Duke of Albany to Edinburgh caſtle. The Earl of Mar having remonſtrated with too much boldneſs againſt the King's conduct, was murdered, if we may believe our hiſtorians, by his command. Albany, apprehenſive of the ſame fate, made his eſcape out of the caſtle, and fled into France. Concern for the King's honour, or indignation

dignation at his meaſures, were perhaps the motives, which firſt induced him to join the malecontents. But James's attachment to favourites rendering him every day more odious to the nobles, the proſpect of the advantages which might be derived from their general diſaffection, added to the reſentment which he felt on account of his brother's death, and his own injuries, ſoon inſpired Albany with more ambitious and criminal thoughts. He concluded a treaty with Edward IV. of England, in which he aſſumed the name of Alexander King of Scots, and in return for the aſſiſtance which was promiſed him towards dethroning his brother, he bound himſelf, ſo ſoon as he was put in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, to ſwear fealty and to do homage to the Engliſh monarch, to renounce the ancient alliance with France, to contract a new one with England, and to ſurrender ſome of the ſtrongeſt caſtles, and moſt valuable counties in Scotland *. That aid, which the Duke ſo baſely purchaſed at the price of his own honour, and the independence of his country, was punctually granted him, and the Duke of Glouceſter with a powerful army conducted him towards Scotland. The danger of a foreign invaſion obliged James to implore the aſſiſtance of thoſe nobles whom he had ſo long treated with contempt. Some of them were in cloſe confederacy with the Duke of Albany, and approved of all his pretenſions. Others were impatient for any event, which would reſtore their order to its ancient pre-eminence. They took the field, however, at the head of a powerful army of their followers, but with a ſtronger diſpoſition to redreſs their own grievances, than to annoy the enemy; and with a fixed reſolution of puniſhing thoſe minions, whoſe inſolence they could no longer tolerate. This reſolution they executed, in the camp near Lawder, with a

* Abercr. Mart. Atch. v. ii. 443.

Book I. military diſpatch and rigour. Having previouſly concerted their plan, the Earls of Angus, Huntly, Lenox, followed by almoſt the whole Barons of chief note in the army, forcibly entered the apartment of their Sovereign, ſeized all his favourites, except one Ramſay, whom they could not tear from the King, in whoſe arms he took ſhelter, and without any form of trial, hanged them inſtantly over a bridge. Among the moſt remarkable of thoſe who had engroſſed the King's affection, were Cochran a maſon, Hommil a taylor, Leonard a ſmith, Rogers a muſician, and Torfifan a fencing-maſter. So deſpicable a retinue diſcovers the capriciouſneſs of James's character, and accounts for the indignation of the nobles, when they beheld the favour, due to them, beſtowed on ſuch unworthy objects.

James had no reaſon to confide in an army ſo little under his command, and diſmiſſing it, ſhut himſelf up in the caſtle of Edinburgh. After various intrigues, Albany's lands and honours were at length reſtored to him, and he ſeemed even to have regained his brother's favour, by ſome important ſervices. But their friendſhip was not of long duration. James, once more, abandoned himſelf to the guidance of favourites; and the fate of thoſe who had ſuffered at Lawder, did not deter others, from courting that dangerous pre-eminence. Albany, on pretext that an attempt had been made to take away his life by poiſon, fled from court, and retiring to his caſtle of Dunbar, drew thither a greater multitude of Barons than attended on the King himſelf. At the ſame time, he renewed his former confederacy with Edward, the Earl of Angus openly negociated that infamous treaty; other Barons were ready to concur with it; and if the ſudden death of Edward had not prevented Albany's receiving any aid from England, the crown of Scotland would, pro-

bably have been the reward of this unworthy combination with the enemies of his country. But, inſtead of any hopes of reigning in Scotland, he found, upon the death of Edward, that he could not reſide there in ſafety, and flying firſt to England, and then to France, he ſeems from that time to have taken no part in the affairs of his native country. Emboldened by his retreat, the King and his Miniſters, multiplied the inſults which they offered to the nobility. A ſtanding guard, a thing unknown under the feudal governments, and inconſiſtent with the familiarity and confidence with which monarchs then lived amidſt their nobles, was raiſed for the King's defence, and the command of it given to Ramſay, lately created Earl of Bothwell, the ſame perſon who had ſo narrowly eſcaped when his companions were put to death at Lawder: And, as if this precaution had not been ſufficient, a proclamation was iſſued forbidding any perſon to appear in arms within the precincts of the court *; which, at a time, when no man of rank left his own houſe without a numerous retinue of armed followers, was, in effect, debarring the nobles from all acceſs to the King. James, at the ſame time, became fonder of retirement than ever; and ſunk in indolence, or ſuperſtition, or attentive only to amuſements, devolved his whole authority upon his favourites. So many injuries provoked the moſt conſiderable nobles to take arms, and having perſuaded or obliged the Duke of Rothſay, the King's eldeſt ſon, a youth of fifteen, to ſet himſelf at their head, they openly declared their intention of depriving James of a crown, of which he had diſcovered himſelf to be ſo unworthy. Rouzed by this danger, the King quitted his retirement, took the field, and encountred them near Bannockburn; but the valour of the Borderers, of whom the army of the male-

* Ferrerius, 398.

Book I. contents was chiefly compoſed, ſoon put his troops to flight, and he himſelf was ſlain in the purſuit. Suſpicion, indolence, immoderate attachment to favourites, and all the vices of a feeble mind, are viſible in his whole conduct; but the character of a cruel and unrelenting tyrant ſeems to be unjuſtly affixed to him by our hiſtorians. His neglect of the nobles irritated, but did not weaken them; and their diſcontent, the immoderate ambition of his two brothers, and their unnatural confederacies with England, were ſufficient to have diſturbed a more vigorous adminiſtration, and to have rendered unhappy a Prince of ſuperior talents.

The indignation, which many perſons of rank expreſſed againſt the conduct of the conſpirators, together with the terror of the ſentence of excommunication which the Pope pronounced againſt them, obliged them to uſe their victory with great moderation and humanity. And being conſcious how deteſtable the crime of imbruing their hands in the blood of their Sovereign appeared, they endeavoured to regain the good opinion of their countrymen, and to attone for their treatment of the father, by their loyalty and duty towards the ſon.
James IV. They placed him inſtantly on the throne, and the whole kingdom ſoon united in acknowledging his authority.

James IV. was naturally generous and brave; he felt, in an high degree, all the paſſions which animate a young and noble mind. He loved magnificence, he delighted in war, and was eager to obtain fame. During his reign, the ancient and hereditary enmity between the King and nobles ſeems almoſt entirely to have ceaſed. He envied not their ſplendor, becauſe it contributed to the ornament of his court; nor did he dread their power, which he conſidered as the ſecurity of his kingdom, not as an object of terror to himſelf.

ſelf. This confidence, on his part, met with the proper return of duty and affection, on theirs; and, in his war with England, he experienced how much a King, beloved by his nobles, is able to perform. Though the ardour of his courage, and the ſpirit of chivalry, rather than the proſpect of any national advantage, were the motives of that expedition; ſuch was the zeal of his ſubjects for the King's glory, that he was followed by as gallant an army, as ever any of his anceſtors had led upon Engliſh ground. But tho' James himſelf formed no ſcheme dangerous or detrimental to the ariſtocracy, his reign was diſtinguiſhed by an event, extremely fatal to it; and one accidental blow humbled it more than all the premeditated attacks of preceding Kings. In the raſh and unfortunate battle of Flowden, a brave nobility choſe rather to die, than to deſert their Sovereign. Twelve Earls, thirteen Lords, five eldeſt ſons of noblemen, and an incredible number of barons fell with the King *. The whole body of the nobles, long and ſenſibly, felt this diſaſter; and if a Prince of full age had then aſcended the throne, their conſternation and feebleneſs would have afforded him advantages, which no former monarch ever poſſeſſed.

James V.

But James V. who ſucceeded his father, was an infant of a year old; and though the office of regent was conferred on the Duke of Albany, a man of genius and enterprize, a native of France, and accuſtomed to a government where the power of the King was already great; though he made many bold attempts to extend the royal authority; though he put to death Lord Home, and baniſhed the Earl of Angus, the two noblemen of greateſt influence in the kingdom, the ariſtocracy loſt no ground under his adminiſtration.

* Aber. ii. 540.

A ſtran-

Book I. A ſtranger to the manners, the laws, and the language of the people whom he was called to rule, he acted, on ſome occaſions, rather like a Viceroy of the French King, than the governor of Scotland; but the nobles aſſerted their own privileges, and contended for the intereſt of their country, with a boldneſs, which convinced him of their independence, and of the impotence of his own authority. After ſeveral unſucceſsful ſtruggles, he voluntarily retired to France, and the King, being then in his thirteenth year, the nobles agreed that he ſhould aſſume the government, and that eight perſons ſhould be appointed to attend him by turns, and to adviſe and aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration of public affairs. The Earl of Angus, who was one of that number, did not long remain ſatisfied with ſuch divided power. He gained ſome of his colleagues, removed others, and intimidated the reſt. When the term of his attendance expired, he ſtill retained authority, to which all were obliged to ſubmit, becauſe none of them was in a condition to diſpute it. The affection of the young King was the only thing wanting, to fix and perpetuate his power. But an active and high-ſpirited Prince ſubmitted, with great impatience, to the reſtraint, in which he was kept. It ill ſuited his years, or diſpoſition, to be confined as a priſoner, within his own palace; to be treated with no reſpect; and to be deprived of all power. He could not, on ſome occaſions, conceal his indignation and reſentment. Angus foreſaw that he had much to dread from theſe, and as he could not gain the King's heart, he reſolved to make ſure of his perſon. James was continually ſurrounded by the Earl's ſpies and confidents; many eyes watched all his motions, and obſerved every ſtep he took. But the King's eagerneſs to obtain liberty eluded all their vigilance. He eſcaped from Falkland, and fled to the caſtle of Stirling, the reſidence of the Queen his mother, and the only place of ſtrength in the

the kingdom which was not in the hand of the Douglaſes. The nobles, of whom ſome were influenced by their hatred to Angus, and others by their reſpect for the King, crowded to Stirling, and his court was ſoon filled with perſons of the greateſt diſtinction. The Earl, though aſtoniſhed at this unexpected revolution, reſolved, at firſt, to make one bold puſh for recovering his authority, by marching to Stirling at the head of his followers; but he wanted either courage, or ſtrength to execute this reſolution. In a parliament held ſoon after, he and his adherents were attainted, and after eſcaping from many dangers, and enduring much miſery, he was at length obliged to fly into England for refuge.

JAMES had now not only the name, but, though extremely young, the full authority of a King. He was inferior to no Prince of that age in gracefulneſs of perſon, or in vigour of mind. His underſtanding was good, and his heart warm; the former capable of great improvement, and the latter ſuſceptible of the beſt impreſſions. But according to the uſual fate of Princes who are called to the throne in their infancy, his education had been neglected. His private preceptors were more ready to flatter, than to inſtruct him. It was the intereſt of thoſe who governed the kingdom, to prevent him from knowing too much. And the Earl of Angus, in order to divert him from buſineſs, gave him an early taſte for ſuch pleaſures, as afterwards occupied and engroſſed him more than became a King. Accordingly, we diſcover in James all the features of a great, but uncultivated ſpirit. On the one hand, violent paſſions, implacable reſentment, an immoderate deſire of power, and the utmoſt rage at diſappointment. On the other, love to his people, zeal for the puniſhment of private oppreſſors, confidence

in

Book I. in his favourites, and the moſt engaging openneſs and affability of behaviour.

WHAT he himſelf had ſuffered from the exorbitant power of the nobles led him early to imitate his predeceſſors, in their attempts to humble them. The plan he formed for that purpoſe was more profound, more ſyſtematic, and purſued with greater conſtancy and ſteddineſs, than that of any of his anceſtors. And the influence of the events in his reign upon thoſe of the ſubſequent period, render it neceſſary to explain his conduct, at greater length, and to enter into a more minute detail of his actions. He had penetration enough to diſcover thoſe defects in the ſchemes, adopted by former Kings, which occaſioned their miſcarriage. The example of James I. had taught him, that wiſe laws operate ſlowly on a rude people, and that the fierce ſpirit of the feudal nobles was not to be ſubdued by theſe alone. The effects of the violent meaſures of James II. convinced him, that the oppreſſion of one great family is apt either to excite the ſuſpicion and reſentment of the other nobles, or to enrich with its ſpoils ſome new family, which would ſoon adopt the ſame ſentiments, and become equally formidable to the crown. He ſaw, from the fatal end of James III. that neglect was ſtill more intolerable to the nobles than oppreſſion, and that the miniſtry of new men and favourites was both diſhonourable, and dangerous to a Prince. At the ſame time, he felt that the authority of the crown was not ſufficient to counterbalance the power of the ariſtocracy, and that without ſome new acceſſion of ſtrength, he could expect no better ſucceſs in the ſtruggle than his anceſtors. In this extremity, he applied himſelf to the clergy, hoping that they would both reliſh his plan, and concur, with all their influence, in enabling him to

put

put it in execution. Under the feudal government, the church being esteemed a third estate, had its representatives in parliament; the number of these was considerable, and they possessed great influence in that assembly. The superstition of former kings, and the zeal of an ignorant age, had bestowed upon ecclesiastics, a great proportion of the national wealth, and the authority which they acquired by the reverence of the people, was superior even to that which they derived from their riches. This powerful body, however, depended entirely on the crown. The Popes, notwithstanding their attention to extend their usurpations, had neglected Scotland as a distant and poor kingdom, and permitted its kings to exercise powers, which they disputed with more considerable princes. The Scottish monarchs had the sole right of nomination to vacant bishopricks and abbeys *; and James naturally concluded, that men who expected preferment from his favour, would be willing to merit it, by promoting his designs. Happily for him, the nobles had not yet recovered the blow which fell on their order at Flowden, and if we may judge either from their conduct, or from the character given of them by Sir Ralph Sadler the English envoy in Scotland, they were men of little genius, of no experience in business, and incapable of acting either with unanimity, or with vigour. Many of the clergy, on the other hand, were distinguished by their great abilities, and no less by their ambition. Various causes of disgust had arisen between them and the nobles, who despised their character, and envied their power, or their wealth. By acting in concert with the king, they not only gratified him, but avenged themselves, and hoped to aggrandise their own order, by depressing those, who were their sole rivals. Secure

BOOK I.

* Epist. Reg. Scot. 1. 197, &c. Act. 125. P. 1540.

Book I. of ſo powerful a concurrence, James ventured to proceed with greater boldneſs. In the firſt heat of reſentment, he had driven the Earl of Angus out of the kingdom; and ſenſible that a perſon, ſo far ſuperior to the other nobles in abilities, might create many obſtacles, which would retard, or render ineffectual all his ſchemes, he ſolemnly ſwore, that he would never permit him to return into Scotland, and, notwithſtanding the repeated ſolicitations of the king of England, he adhered to his vow with unrelenting obſtinacy. He then proceeded to repair the fortifications of Edinburgh, Stirling, and other caſtles, and to fill his magazines with arms and ammunition. Having taken theſe precautions by way of defence, he began to treat the nobility with the utmoſt coldneſs and reſerve. Thoſe offices, which they were apt, from long poſſeſſion, to conſider as appropriated to their order, were now beſtowed on eccleſiaſtics, who alone poſſeſſed the King's ear, and together with a few gentlemen of inferior rank, to whom he had communicated his ſchemes, were entruſted with the management of all public affairs. Theſe miniſters were choſen with judgment; and Cardinal Beatoun, who ſoon became the moſt eminent among them, was a man of ſuperior genius. They ſerved the King with fidelity, they carried on his meaſures with vigour, with reputation, and with ſucceſs. James no longer concealed his contempt of the nobles, and ſuffered no opportunity of mortifying them to eſcape. Slight offences were aggravated into real crimes, and puniſhed with ſeverity. Every accuſation againſt perſons of rank was heard with pleaſure, every appearance of guilt was examined with rigour, and every trial proved fatal to thoſe who were accuſed: the baniſhing Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, for reaſons extremely frivolous, the beheading the Maſter of Forbes without ſufficient evidence of his guilt, and the condemning Lady Glamis, a ſiſter of the Earl of Angus, to be burnt for the crime of witchcraft, of which even that credulous age believed her innocent,

are

are monuments both of the King's hatred of the nobility, of the ſeverity of his government, and of the ſtretches he made towards abſolute power. By theſe acts of authority, he tried the ſpirit of the nobles, and how much they were willing to bear. Their patience increaſed his contempt for them, and added to the ardour and boldneſs with which he purſued his plan. Meanwhile they obſerved the tendency of his ſchemes with concern, and with reſentment; but the King's ſagacity, the vigilance of his miniſters, and the want of a proper leader, made it dangerous to concert any meaſures for their defence, and impoſſible to act with becoming vigour. James and his counſellors, by a falſe ſtep which they took, preſented to them, at length, an advantage which they did not fail to improve.

Motives, which are well known, had prompted Henry VIII. to diſclaim the Pope's authority, and to ſeize the revenues of the regular clergy. His ſyſtem of Reformation ſatisfied none of his ſubjects. Some were enraged becauſe he had proceeded ſo far, others murmured becauſe he proceeded no farther; and by his imperious temper, and alternate perſecutions of the zealots for Popery, and the converts to the Proteſtant opinions, he was equally formidable to both. Henry was afraid that this general diſſatisfaction of his people might encourage his enemies on the Continent to invade his kingdom. He knew that both the Pope and Emperor courted the friendſhip of the King of Scots, and endeavoured to engage him in an alliance againſt England. He reſolved, therefore, to diſappoint the effects of their negotiations, by entering into a cloſer union with his nephew, and for that purpoſe ſent ambaſſadors into Scotland, to propoſe a perſonal interview with him at York. It was plainly James's intereſt to accept of this invitation; the aſſiſtance of ſo powerful an ally, the high honours which were promiſed him, and the

BOOK I. liberal ſubſidies he might have obtained, would have added no little dignity to his domeſtic government, and muſt have greatly facilitated the execution of his favourite plan. On the other hand, a war with England, which he had reaſon to apprehend, if he rejected Henry's offers of friendſhip, was inconſiſtent with all his views. This would bring him to depend on his barons; an army could not be raiſed without their aſſiſtance: to call nobles incenſed againſt their Prince into the field, was to unite his enemies, to make them ſenſible of their own ſtrength, and to afford them an opportunity of revenging their wrongs. James, who was not ignorant that all theſe conſequences might follow a breach with England, liſtened at firſt to Henry's propoſal, and conſented to the interview at York. But the clergy dreaded an union, which muſt have been eſtabliſhed on the ruins of the church. Henry had taken great pains to infuſe into his nephew his own ſentiments concerning religion, and had frequently ſollicited him, by ambaſſadors, to renounce the uſurped dominion of the Pope, which was no leſs diſhonourable to Princes, than grievous to their ſubjects. The clergy had hitherto, with great addreſs, diverted the King from regarding theſe ſollicitations. But, in an amicable conference, Henry expected, and they feared that James would yield to his intreaties, or be convinced by his arguments. They knew that the revenues of the church were an alluring object to a Prince, who wanted money, and who loved it; that the pride and ambition of eccleſiaſtics raiſed the indignation of the nobles; that their indecent lives gave offence to the people; that the Proteſtant opinions were ſpreading faſt throughout the nation; and that an univerſal defection from the eſtabliſhed church, would be the conſequence of giving the ſmalleſt degree of encouragement to theſe principles. For theſe reaſons, they employed all their credit with the King, and had recourſe to every artifice and inſinuation, in order

order to divert him from a journey, which muſt have been ſo fatal to their intereſt. They endeavoured to inſpire him with fear, by magnifying the danger to which he would expoſe his perſon, by venturing ſo far into England, without any ſecurity but the word of a Prince, who having violated every thing venerable and ſacred in religion, was no longer to be truſted; and by way of compenſation for the ſums which he might have received from Henry, they offered an annual donative of 50,000 crowns; they promiſed to contribute liberally towards carrying on a war with England, and flattered him with the proſpect of immenſe riches, ariſing from the forfeiture of perſons, who were to be tried and condemned as heretics. Influenced by theſe conſiderations, James broke his agreement with Henry, who, in expectation of meeting him, had already come to York; and that haughty and impatient Monarch reſented the affront, by declaring war againſt Scotland. His army was ſoon ready to invade the kingdom. James was obliged to have recourſe to the nobles, for the defence of his dominions. At his command, they aſſembled their followers; but with the ſame diſpoſitions, which had animated their anceſtors in the reign of James III. and with a full reſolution of imitating their example, by puniſhing thoſe to whom they imputed the grievances, of which they had reaſon to complain; and if the King's Miniſters had not been men of abilities, ſuperior to thoſe of James III. and of conſiderable intereſt even with their enemies, who could not agree among themſelves what victims to ſacrifice, the camp of Fala would have been as remarkable as that of Lawder, for the daring encroachments of the nobility on the prerogative of the Prince. But though his miniſters were ſaved by this accident, the nobles had ſoon another opportunity, of diſcovering to the King, their diſſatisfaction with his government, and their contempt of his authority. Scarcity of proviſions, and the rigour of the

ſeaſon

Book I. ſeaſon having obliged the Engliſh army which had invaded Scotland, to retire, James imagined that he could attack them, with great advantage, in their retreat; but the principal barons, with an obſtinacy and diſdain, which greatly aggravated their diſobedience, refuſed to advance a ſtep beyond the limits of their own country. Provoked by this inſult to himſelf, and ſuſpicious of a new conſpiracy againſt his miniſters, the King inſtantly diſbanded an army, which paid ſo little regard to his orders, and returned abruptly into the heart of the kingdom.

An ambitious and high ſpirited Prince could not brook ſuch a mortifying affront. His hopes of ſucceſs had been raſh, and his deſpair upon a diſappointment was exceſſive. He felt himſelf engaged in an unneceſſary war with England, which, inſtead of yielding him the laurels and triumphs that he expected, had begun with ſuch circumſtances, as encouraged the inſolence of his ſubjects, and expoſed him to the ſcorn of his enemies. He ſaw how vain and ineffectual all his projects to humble the nobles had been, and that, though in times of peace, a Prince may endeavour to depreſs them, they will riſe, during war, to their former importance and dignity. Impatience, reſentment, indignation filled his boſom by turns. The violence of theſe paſſions altered his temper, and, perhaps, impaired his reaſon. He became penſive, ſullen, and retired. He ſeemed, through the day, to be ſwallowed up in profound meditation, and through the night, he was diſturbed with thoſe viſionary terrors, which make impreſſion upon a weak underſtanding only, or a diſordered fancy. In order to revive the King's ſpirits, an inroad on the weſtern borders was concerted by his miniſters, who prevailed upon the Barons in the neighbouring provinces, to raiſe as many troops as were thought neceſſary,

and

7

and to enter the enemy's country. But nothing could remove the King's averſion for his nobility, or diminiſh his jealouſy of their power. He would not even entruſt them with the command of the forces which they had aſſembled; that was reſerved for Oliver Sinclair his favourite, who no ſooner appeared to take poſſeſſion of the dignity conferred upon him, than rage and indignation occaſioned an univerſal mutiny in the army. Five hundred Engliſh, who happened to be drawn up in fight, attacked the Scots in this diſorder. Hatred to the King, and contempt of their General produced an effect, to which there is no parallel in hiſtory. They overcame the fear of death, and the love of liberty; and ten thouſand men ſurrendered to a number ſo far inferior, without ſtriking a ſingle blow. No man was deſirous of a victory, which would have been acceptable to the King, and to his favourite; few endeavoured to ſave themſelves by flight; the Engliſh had the choice of what priſoners they pleaſed to take; and almoſt every perſon of diſtinction, who was engaged in the expedition, remained in their hands. This aſtoniſhing event was a new proof to the King of the general diſaffection of the nobility, and a new diſcovery of his own weakneſs, and want of authority. Incapable of bearing theſe repeated inſults, he found himſelf unable to revenge them. The deepeſt melancholy and deſpair ſucceeded to the furious tranſports of rage and indignation, which the firſt account of the rout of his army occaſioned. All the violent paſſions, which are the enemies of life, preyed upon his mind, and waſted and conſumed a youthful and vigorous conſtitution. Some authors of that age impute his untimely death to poiſon; but the diſeaſes of the mind, when they riſe to an height, are often mortal; and the known effects of diſappointment, rage, and indignation upon a ſanguine and impetuous temper, ſufficiently account for his unhappy

fate.

Book I. fate. " His death (ſays Drummond) proveth his mind to have been raiſed to an high ſtrain, and above mediocrity; he could die, but could not digeſt a diſaſter." Had James ſurvived this misfortune, one of two things muſt have happened: either the violence of his temper would have engaged him openly to attack the nobles, who would have found in Henry a willing and powerful protector, and have derived the ſame aſſiſtance from him, which the malecontents, in the ſucceeding reign, did from his daughter Elizabeth; in that caſe, a dangerous civil war would have been the certain conſequence. Or, perhaps, neceſſity might have obliged him to accept of Henry's offers, and be reconciled to his nobility. In that event the church would have fallen a ſacrifice to their union, a Reformation, upon Henry's plan, would have been eſtabliſhed by law, a great part of the temporalities of the church would have been ſeized, and the friendſhip of the King and Barons would have been cemented by dividing its ſpoils.

SUCH were the efforts of our Kings, towards reducing the exorbitant power of the nobles. If they were not attended with ſucceſs, we muſt not, for that reaſon, conclude that they were not conducted with prudence. Every circumſtance ſeems to have combined againſt the Crown. Accidental events concurred with political cauſes, in rendering the beſt concerted meaſures abortive. The aſſaſſination of one King, the ſudden death of another, and the fatal deſpair of a third, contributed no leſs than its own natural ſtrength, to preſerve the ariſtocracy from ruin.

AMIDST theſe ſtruggles, the influence which our Kings poſſeſſed in their parliaments, is a circumſtance ſeemingly inexplicable, and which merits particular attention. As theſe aſſemblies were compoſed

poſed chiefly of the nobles, they, we are apt to imagine, muſt have dictated all their deciſions; but, inſtead of this, every King found them obſequious to his will, and obtained ſuch laws, as he eſteemed neceſſary for extending his authority. All things were conducted there with diſpatch and unanimity; and, in none of our hiſtorians, do we find an inſtance of any oppoſition formed againſt the court in Parliament, or mention of any difficulty in carrying through the meaſures which were agreeable to the King. In order to account for this ſingular fact, it is neceſſary to enquire into the origin and conſtitution of Parliament.

The extraordinary influence of the Scottiſh Kings in Parliament.

THE genius of the feudal government, uniform in all its operations, produced the ſame effects in ſmall, as in great ſocieties; and the territory of a Baron, was, in miniature, the model of a kingdom. He poſſeſſed the right of juriſdiction, but thoſe, who depended on him, being free men, and not ſlaves, could be tried by their Peers only; and, therefore, his vaſſals were bound to attend his courts, and to aſſiſt both in paſſing and executing his ſentences. When aſſembled, on theſe occaſions, they eſtabliſhed, by mutual conſent, ſuch regulations, as tended to the welfare of their ſmall ſociety; and often granted, voluntarily, ſuch ſupplies to their *Superior*, as his neceſſities required. Change now a ſingle name: in place of Baron, ſubſtitute King, and we behold a Parliament in its firſt rudiments, and obſerve the firſt exertions of thoſe powers, which its members now poſſeſs as Judges, as Legiſlators, and as diſpenſers of the public revenues. Suitable to this idea, are the appellations of the *King's Court* *, and of the *King's Great Council*, by which, Parliaments were anciently diſtinguiſhed; and ſuitable to this, likewiſe, were the conſtituent members of which

The reaſons of it.

* Du Cange, Voc. Curia.

Book I. it was compoſed. In all the feudal kingdoms, thoſe who held of the King *in chief* were bound, by the condition of their tenure, to attend and to aſſiſt in his courts. Nor was this eſteemed a privilege, but a ſervice. It was exacted likewiſe of Biſhops, Abbots, and the greater eccleſiaſtics, who holding vaſt poſſeſſions of the Crown, were deemed ſubject to the ſame burden. Parliaments did not continue long in this ſtate. Cities gradually acquired wealth, a conſiderable ſhare of the public taxes were levied on them, the inhabitants grew into eſtimation, and being enfranchiſed by the Sovereign, a place in Parliament was the conſequence of their liberty, and of their importance. But as it would have been abſurd to confer ſuch a privilege, or to impoſe ſuch a burden on a whole community, every burrough was permitted to chuſe one or two of its citizens to appear in the name of the corporation; and the idea of *repreſentation* was firſt introduced in this manner. An innovation, ſtill more important, naturally followed. The vaſſals of the Crown were originally few in number, and extremely powerful; but as it is impoſſible to render property fixed and permanent, many of their poſſeſſions came, gradually, and by various methods of alienation, to be ſplit and parcelled out into different hands. Hence aroſe the diſtinction between the *Greater* and the *Leſſer Barons*. The former were thoſe who retained their original fiefs undivided, the latter were the new and leſs potent vaſſals of the Crown. Both were bound, however, to perform all feudal ſervices, and, of conſequence, to give attendance in Parliament. To the leſſer Barons, who formed no inconſiderable body, this was an intolerable grievance. Barons ſometimes denied their tenure, burroughs renounced their right of electing, charters were obtained, containing an exemption from attendance; and the anxiety, with which our anceſtors endeavoured to get free from the obligation of ſitting in Parliament, is ſurpaſſed

by

by that only, with which their poſterity ſolicit to be admitted there. Book I.
In order to accommodate both parties, and, at once, to ſecure to the King a ſufficient number of members in his great council, and to ſave his vaſſals from an unneceſſary burden, an eaſy expedient was found out. The obligation to perſonal attendance was continued upon the Greater Barons, from which the Leſſer Barons were exempted, on condition of their electing, in each county, a certain number of *Repreſentatives*, to appear in their name. Thus a Parliament became compleat in all its members, and was compoſed of Lords Spiritual and Temporal, of Knights of the ſhires, and of Burgeſſes. As many cauſes contributed to bring government earlier to perfection in England, than in Scotland; as the rigour of the feudal inſtitutions abated ſooner; and its defects were ſupplied with greater facility in the one kingdom, than in the other; England led the way in all theſe changes, and Burgeſſes, and Knights of the ſhire appeared in the Parliaments of that nation, before they were heard of in ours. Burgeſſes were firſt admitted into the Scottiſh Parliaments by Robert Bruce *; and in the preamble to the laws A. D. 1326.
of Robert III. they are ranked among the conſtituent members of that aſſembly. The Leſſer Barons were indebted to James I. for a 1427.
ſtatute exempting them from perſonal attendance, and permitting them to elect repreſentatives; the exemption was eagerly laid hold on, but the privilege was ſo little valued, that, except one or two inſtances, it lay neglected during 160 years; and James VI. firſt obliged them to ſend repreſentatives regularly to Parliament †.

A Scottish Parliament, then, conſiſted anciently of Great Barons, of Eccleſiaſtics, and a few repreſentatives of burroughs. Nor were

* Abercromby, 1. 635.

† Eſſays on Brit. Antiq. Eſſ. II. Dalrymp. Hiſt. of Feud. Prop. ch. 8.

Book I. theſe divided, as in England, into two houſes, but compoſed one aſſembly, in which the Lord Chancellor preſided *. And, in rude ages, when the ſcience of government was extremely imperfect, among a martial people, unacquainted with the arts of peace, ſtrangers to the talents which make a figure in debate, and deſpiſing them, Parliaments were not held in the ſame eſtimation as at preſent; nor did haughty Barons love thoſe courts, in which they appeared, with ſuch evident marks of inferiority. Parliaments were often haſtily aſſembled, and it was, probably, in the King's power, by the manner in which he iſſued his writs for that purpoſe, to exclude thoſe who were averſe from his meaſures. At a time when deeds of violence were common, and the reſtraints of law and decency were little regarded, no man could venture with ſafety to oppoſe the King in his own court. The Great Barons, or Lords of Parliament, were extremely few; even ſo late as the beginning of the reign of James VI.† they amounted only to fifty-three. The Eccleſiaſtics equalled them in number, and being devoted implicitly to the Crown, for reaſons which have been already explained, rendered all hopes of victory in any ſtruggle deſperate. Nor were the nobles them-

* In England, the Peers and Commons ſeem early to have met in ſeparate houſes; and James I. who was fond of imitating the Engliſh in all their cuſtoms, had probably an intention of introducing ſome conſiderable diſtinction between the Greater and Leſſer Barons in Scotland; at leaſt he determined that their conſultations ſhould not be carried on under the direction of the ſame Preſident; for by his law, A. D. 1327. it is provided, "that out of the Commiſſioners of all the ſhires ſhall be choſen a wiſe and expert man, called the Common Speaker of the Parliament, who ſhall propoſe all and ſundry needs and cauſes, pertaining to the Commons in the Parliament or general council." No ſuch Speaker, it would ſeem, was ever choſen; and by a ſubſequent law the Chancellor was declared perpetual Preſident of Parliament.

† And. Coll. v. i. pref. 40.

ſelves

ſelves ſo anxious, as might be imagined, to prevent acts of Parliament favourable to the royal prerogative; conſcious of their own ſtrength, and of the King's inability to carry theſe acts into execution without their concurrence, they truſted either to elude, or to contemn them; and the ſtatute revoking the King's property, and annexing alienated juriſdictions to the Crown, repeated in every reign, and violated and deſpiſed as often, is a ſtanding proof of the impotence of laws, when oppoſed to power. So many concurring cauſes are ſufficient, perhaps, to account for the aſcendant, which our Kings acquired in Parliament. But without having recourſe to any of theſe, a ſingle circumſtance, peculiar to the conſtitution of the Scottiſh Parliament, the mentioning of which we have hitherto avoided, will abundantly explain this fact, ſeemingly ſo repugnant to all our reaſonings concerning the weakneſs of the King, and the power of the nobles.

As far back, as our records enable us to trace the conſtitution of our Parliaments, we find a committee, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Lords of Articles*. It was their buſineſs to prepare, and to digeſt all matters which were to be laid before the Parliament; every motion for a new law was firſt made there, and approved or rejected by them at pleaſure; what they approved was formed into a bill, and preſented to Parliament; what they rejected could not be introduced into the houſe. This committee owed the extraordinary powers veſted in it, to the military genius of the ancient nobles; too impatient to ſubmit to the drudgery of civil buſineſs, too impetuous to obſerve the forms, or to enter into the details neceſſary in conducting it, they were glad to lay that burden upon a ſmall number, while they themſelves had no other labour than ſimply to give, or to refuſe their ſanction to the bills, which were preſented to them. The Lords of Articles, then, not only directed

Book I. the whole proceedings of Parliament, but poſſeſſed a negative before debate. That committee was choſen and conſtituted in ſuch a manner, as put this valuable privilege entirely in the King's hands. It is extremely probable, that the King once had the ſole right of nominating the Lords of Articles *. They came afterwards to be elected by the Parliament, and conſiſted of an equal number out of each eſtate, and moſt commonly of eight Temporal and eight Spiritual Lords, of eight repreſentatives of burroughs, and of the eight great officers of the Crown. Of this body, the eight eccleſiaſtics, together with the officers of the Crown, were entirely at the King's devotion, and it was ſcarce poſſible that the choice could fall on ſuch Temporal Lords and Burgeſſes as would unite in oppoſition to his meaſures. Capable either of influencing their election, or of gaining them when elected, the King commonly found the Lords of Articles no leſs obſequious to his will, than his own privy council, and by means of his authority with them, he could put a negative upon

* It appears from authentic records, that a Parliament was appointed to be held March 12, 1566, and that the Lords of Articles were choſen and met on the 7th, five days before the aſſembling of Parliament. If they could be regularly elected ſo long before the meeting of Parliament, it is natural to conclude, that the Prince alone poſſeſſed the right of electing them. There are two different accounts of the manner of their election at that time, one by Mary herſelf, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, "We, accompanied with our nobility for the time, paſt "to the Tolbuith of Edinburgh, for holding of our Parliament on the 7th day of "this inſtant, and elected the Lords Articulars." If we explain theſe words, according to ſtrict Grammar, we muſt conclude that the Queen herſelf elected them. It is, however, more probable that Mary meant to ſay, that the nobles then preſent with her, viz. her privy counſellors, and others, elected the Lords of Articles. Keith's Hiſt. of Scotland, p. 331. The other account is Lord Ruthven's, who expreſly affirms that the Queen herſelf elected them. Keith's Append. 126. Whether we embrace the one or the other of theſe opinions, is of no conſequence. If the privy counſellors and nobles attending the court had a right to elect the Lords of Articles, it was equally advantageous for the Crown, as if the Prince had had the ſole nomination of them.

his

his Parliament before debate, as well as after it; and what may seem altogether incredible, the most limited Prince in Europe actually possessed, in one instance, a prerogative which the most absolute could never attain *. BOOK I.

To this account of the internal constitution of Scotland, it will not be improper to add a view of the political state of Europe at that period, where the following history commences. A thorough know- State of Europe at the beginning of the 16th century.

* HAVING deduced the history of the committee of Lords of Articles, as low as the subject of this preliminary book required, it may be agreeable, perhaps, to some of my readers, to know the subsequent variations in this singular institution, and the political use which our Kings made of these. When Parliaments became more numerous, and more considerable by the admission of the representatives of the Lesser Barons, the preserving their influence over the Lords of Articles became, likewise, an object of greater importance to our Kings. James VI. on pretence, that the Lords of Articles could not find leisure to consider the great multitude of affairs laid before them, obtained an act, appointing four persons to be named out of each *estate*, who should meet twenty days before the commencement of Parliament †, to receive all supplications, &c. and rejecting what they thought frivolous, should engross in a book what they thought worthy the attention of the Lords of Articles. No provision is made in the act for the choice of this select body, and the King would, of course, have claimed that privilege. In 1633, when Charles I. was beginning to introduce these innovations which gave so much offence to the nation, he dreaded the opposition of his Parliament, and in order to prevent that, an artifice was made use of to secure the Lords of Articles for the Crown. The Temporal Peers were appointed to chuse eight Bishops and the Bishops eight Peers, these sixteen met together, and elected eight Knights of the shire, and eight Burgesses, and to these the crown officers were added as usual. If we can only suppose eight persons of so numerous a body, as the Peers of Scotland were become by that time, attached to the court, these, it is obvious, would be the men whom the Bishops would chuse, and of consequence, the whole Lords of Articles were

† Act. 222. P. 1594.

the

BOOK I. knowledge of that general ſyſtem, of which every kingdom in Europe forms a part, is not leſs requiſite towards underſtanding the hiſtory of a nation, than an acquaintance with its peculiar government and laws. The latter may enable us to comprehend domeſtic occurrences and revolutions, but without the former, foreign tranſactions muſt be altogether myſterious and unintelligible. By attending to this, many dark paſſages in our hiſtory may be placed in a clear light; and where the bulk of hiſtorians have ſeen only the effect, we may be able to diſcover the cauſe.

THE ſubverſion of the feudal government in France, and its declenſion in the neighbouring kingdoms, occaſioned a remarkable alteration in the political ſtate of Europe. Kingdoms, which were inconſiderable when broken, and parcelled out among nobles, acquired firmneſs and ſtrength, by being united into a regular monarchy. Kings became conſcious of their own power and importance. They meditated ſchemes of conqueſt, and engaged in wars at a diſtance. Numerous armies were raiſed, and great taxes impoſed for their ſubſiſtence. Conſiderable bodies of infantry were kept in conſtant pay; that ſervice grew to be honourable; and cavalry, in which the ſtrength of European armies had hitherto con-

the tools and creatures of the King. This practice, ſo inconſiſtent with liberty, was aboliſhed during the civil war; and the ſtatute of James VI. was repealed. After the Reſtoration, Parliaments became more ſervile than ever. What was only a temporary device, in the reign of Charles I. was, then, converted into a ſtanding law. "For my part, ſays the author from whom I have borrowed many of theſe particu-" lars, I ſhould have thought it leſs criminal in our Reſtoration Parliament, to have " openly beſtowed upon the King a negative before debate, than, in ſuch an un-" derhand artificial manner, to betray their conſtituents, and the nation." Eſſays on Brit. Antiq. 55. It is probable, however, from a letter of Randolph's to Cecil 10. Aug. 1560, printed in the Appendix, that this Parliament had ſome appearance of antient precedent to juſtify their unworthy conduct.

ſiſted,

ſiſted, though proper enough for the ſhort and voluntary excurſions of Barons who ſerved at their own expence, were found to be unfit either for making, or defending any important conqueſt.

IT was in Italy, that the powerful monarchs of France and Spain and Germany firſt appeared to make a trial of their new ſtrength. The diviſion of that country into ſo many ſmall ſtates, the luxury of the people, and their effeminate averſion to arms invited their more martial neighbours to an eaſy prey. The Italians, who had been accuſtomed to mock battles only, and to decide their quarrels by innocent and bloodleſs victories, were aſtoniſhed at the ſight of real war; and as they could not reſiſt the torrent, they ſuffered it to take its courſe, and to ſpend its rage. Intrigue and policy ſupplied the want of ſtrength; and neceſſity and ſelf-preſervation led that ingenious people to the great ſecret of modern politics, by teaching them how to balance the power of one Prince, by throwing that of another into the oppoſite ſcale. By this happy device, the liberty of Italy was long preſerved. The ſcales were poiſed by very ſkilful hands; the ſmalleſt variations were attended to, and no Prince was allowed to retain any ſuperiority, that could be dangerous.

A SYSTEM of conduct, purſued with ſo much ſucceſs in Italy, was not long confined to that country of political refinement. The maxim of preſerving a balance of power is founded ſo much upon obvious reaſoning, and the ſituation of Europe rendered it ſo neceſſary, that it ſoon became a matter of chief attention to all wiſe politicians. Every ſtep any Prince took was obſerved by all his neighbours. Ambaſſadors, a kind of honourable ſpies, authorized by the mutual jealouſy of Kings, reſided almoſt conſtantly at every

BOOK I. different court, and had it in charge to watch all its motions. Dangers were foreſeen at a greater diſtance, and prevented with more eaſe. Confederacies were formed to humble any power which roſe above its due proportion. Revenge or ſelf-defence were no longer the only cauſes of hoſtility, it became common to take arms out of policy; and war, both in its commencement, and in its operations, was more an exerciſe of the judgement, than of the paſſions of men. Almoſt every war in Europe became general, and the moſt inconſiderable ſtates acquired importance, becauſe they could add weight to either ſcale.

FRANCIS I. who mounted the throne of France in the year 1515, and Charles V. who obtained the Imperial crown in the year 1519, divided between them the ſtrength and affections of all Europe. Their perpetual enmity was not owing either to perſonal jealouſy, or to the caprice of private paſſion, but was founded ſo much in nature and true policy, that it ſubſiſted between their poſterity for ſeveral ages; and, notwithſtanding their preſent accidental and unnatural union, muſt again revive. Charles ſucceeded to all the dominions of the houſe of Auſtria. No family had ever gained ſo much by wiſe and fortunate marriages. By acquiſitions of this kind the Auſtrian Princes roſe, in a ſhort time, from obſcure Counts of Hapſbourg, to be Archdukes of Auſtria, and Kings of Bohemia, and were in poſſeſſion of the imperial dignity by a ſort of hereditary right. Beſides theſe territories in Germany, Charles was heir to the crown of Spain, and to all the dominions which belonged to the houſe of Burgundy. The Burgundian provinces engroſſed, at that time, the riches and commerce of one half of Europe; and he drew from them, on many occaſions, thoſe immenſe ſums, which no people without trade and liberty are able to contribute. Spain

furniſhed him a gallant and hardy infantry, to whoſe diſcipline he was indebted for all his conqueſts. And at the ſame time, by the diſcovery of the new world, a vein of wealth was opened to him, which all the extravagance of ambition could not exhauſt. Theſe advantages rendered Charles the firſt Prince in Europe; but he wiſhed to be more, and openly aſpired to univerſal monarchy. His genius was of that kind which ripens ſlowly, and lies long concealed; but it grew up without obſervation, to an unexpected height and vigour. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, the characteriſtic virtues of all the different races of Princes to whom he was allied. In forming his ſchemes, he diſcovered all the ſubtlety and penetration of Ferdinand his grandfather; he purſued them with that obſtinate and inflexible perſeverance which has ever been peculiar to the Auſtrian blood; and in executing them, he could employ the magnanimity and boldneſs of his Burgundian Anceſtors. His abilities were equal to his power, and neither of them would have been inferior to his deſigns, had not Providence, in pity to mankind, and in order to preſerve them from the worſt of all evils, Univerſal Monarchy, raiſed up Francis I. to defend the liberty of Europe. His dominions were leſs extenſive, but more united than the Emperor's. His ſubjects were numerous, active, and warlike, lovers of glory, and lovers of their King. To Charles power was the only object of deſire, and he purſued it with an unwearied and joyleſs induſtry. Francis could mingle pleaſure and elegance with his ambition, and though he neglected ſome advantages, which a more phlegmatic or more frugal Prince would have improved, an active and intrepid courage ſupplied all his defects, and checked or defeated many of the Emperor's deſigns. BOOK I.

THE reſt of Europe obſerved all the motions of theſe mighty rivals, with a jealous attention. On the one ſide, the Italians ſaw

Book I. the danger which threatened Chriſtendom, and in order to avert it, had recourſe to the expedient, which they had often employed with ſucceſs. They endeavoured to divide the power of the two contending Monarchs into equal ſcales, and by the union of ſeveral ſmall ſtates, to counterpoiſe him, whoſe power became too great. But, what they concerted with much wiſdom, they were able to execute with little vigour; and intrigue and refinement were feeble fences againſt the incroachments of military power.

On the other ſide, Henry VIII. of England held the balance with leſs delicacy, but with a ſtronger hand. He was the third Prince of the age in dignity and in power; and the advantageous ſituation of his dominions, his domeſtic tranquillity, his immenſe wealth, and abſolute authority rendered him the natural guardian of the liberty of Europe. Each of the rivals courted him with emulation; he knew it to be his intereſt to keep the balance even, and to reſtrain both, by not joining intirely with either of them. But he was ſeldom able to reduce his ideas to practice; he was governed by caprice more than by principle; and the paſſions of the man were an overmatch for the maxims of the King. Vanity and reſentment were the great ſprings of all his undertakings, and his neighbours eaſily found the way, by touching theſe, to force him upon many raſh and inconſiſtent enterpriſes. His reign was a perpetual ſeries of blunders in politics, and while he eſteemed himſelf the wiſeſt Prince in Europe, he was a conſtant dupe to thoſe, who found it neceſſary, and could ſubmit to flatter him.

In this ſituation of Europe, Scotland, which had hitherto waſted her ſtrength in the quarrels between France and England, emerged from her obſcurity, took her ſtation in the ſyſtem, and began to have

have ſome influence upon the fate of diſtant nations. Her aſſiſtance was, frequently, of conſequence to the contending parties, and the balance was often ſo nicely adjuſted, that it was in her power to make it lean to either ſide. The part aſſigned her was to divert Henry from carrying his arms into the continent. That Prince, having routed the French at Guinegat, and inveſted Terouënne, France attempted to divide his forces, by engaging James IV. in that unhappy expedition which ended with his life. For the ſame reaſon, Francis encouraged and aſſiſted the Duke of Albany, to ruin the families of Angus and Home, which were in the intereſt of England, and would willingly have perſuaded the Scots to revenge the death of their King, and to enter into a new war with that kingdom. Henry and Francis having united not long after againſt the Emperor, it was the intereſt of both Kings, that the Scots ſhould continue inactive; and a long tranquillity was the effect of their union. Charles endeavoured to break this, and to embarraſs Henry by another inroad of the Scots. For this end, he made great advances to James V. flattering the vanity of the young Monarch, by electing him a Knight of the Golden Fleece, and by offering him a match in the imperial family; while, in return for theſe empty honours, he demanded of him to renounce his alliance with France, and to declare war againſt England. But James, who had much to loſe, and who could gain little by embracing the Emperor's propoſals, rejected them with decency, and keeping firm to his ancient allies, left Henry at full liberty to act upon the continent with his whole ſtrength.

Henry himſelf began his reign, by imitating the example of his anceſtors with regard to Scotland. He held its power in ſuch extreme contempt, that he was at no pains to gain its friendſhip; but

Book I. on the contrary, he irritated the whole nation, by reviving the antiquated pretenſions of the crown of England to the ſovereignty over Scotland. But his own experience, and the example of his enemies, gave him a higher idea of its importance. It was impoſſible to defend an open and extenſive frontier, againſt the incurſions of an active and martial people. During any war on the continent this obliged him to divide the ſtrength of his kingdom. It was neceſſary to maintain a kind of army of obſervation in the north of England; and after all precautions, the Scottiſh borderers, who were ſuperior to all mankind in the practice of irregular war, often made ſucceſsful inroads, and ſpread terror and deſolation over many counties. He fell, at laſt, upon the true ſecret of policy, with reſpect to Scotland, which his predeceſſors had too little penetration to diſcover, or too much pride to employ. The ſituation of the country, and the bravery of the people made the conqueſt of Scotland impoſſible; but the national poverty, and the violence of faction rendered it an eaſy matter to divide, and to govern it. He abandoned, therefore, the former deſign, and reſolved to employ the utmoſt addreſs in executing the latter. It had not yet become honourable for one Prince to receive pay from another, under the more decent name of a ſubſidy. But, in all ages, the ſame arguments have been good in courts, and of weight with miniſters, factious leaders, and favourites. What were the arguments, by which Henry brought over ſo many to his intereſt during the minority of James V. we know by the original warrants ſtill extant *, for remitting conſiderable ſums into Scotland. By a proper diſtribution of theſe, many perſons of note were gained to his party, and a faction which held ſecret correſpondence with England, and received all its directions from thence, appears hencefor-

* Burn. Hiſt. Ref. v. i. p. 7.

ward

ward in all our domeſtic conteſts. In the ſequel of the hiſtory, we ſhall find Henry labouring to extend his influence in Scotland. His ſucceſſors adopted the ſame plan, and improved upon it. The affairs of the two kingdoms became interwoven, and their intereſts were often the ſame. Elizabeth divided her attention almoſt equally between them, and the authority, which ſhe inherited in the one, was not greater than that, which ſhe acquired in the other.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK II.

MARY Queen of Scots was born a few days before the death of her father James V. The ſituation in which he left the kingdom alarmed all ranks of men, with the proſpect of a turbulent and diſaſtrous reign. A war againſt England had been undertaken without neceſſity, and carried on without ſucceſs. Many perſons of the firſt rank had fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, in the unfortunate rout near the firth of Solway, and were ſtill priſoners at London. Among the reſt of the nobles there was little union, either in their views, or in their affections; and the religious diſputes, occaſioned by the opinions of the reformers, growing every day more violent, added to the rage of thoſe factions which are natural to a form of government nearly ariſtocratical.

Dec. 14, 1542. Birth of Mary, and ſtate of the kingdom.

Book II. THE government of a Queen was unknown in Scotland, and did not imprint much reverence in the minds of a martial people. The government of an infant Queen was ſtill more deſtitute of real authority; and the proſpect of a long and feeble minority invited to faction by the hope of impunity. James had not even provided the common remedy againſt the diſorders of a minority, by committing to proper perſons the care of his daughter's education, and the adminiſtration of affairs in her name. Though he ſaw the clouds gathering, and foretold that they would quickly burſt into a ſtorm, he was ſo little able to diſperſe them, or to defend his daughter and kingdom againſt the imminent calamities, that, in mere deſpair, he abandoned them both to the mercy of fortune, and left open to every pretender, the office of Regent, which he could not fix to his own ſatisfaction.

Pretenſions of Cardinal Beatoun to the regency.

CARDINAL Beatoun, who had for many years been conſidered as prime miniſter, was the firſt who claimed that high dignity; and in ſupport of his pretenſions, he produced a teſtament *, which he himſelf had forged in the name of the late King; and without any other right, inſtantly aſſumed the title of Regent. He hoped, by the aſſiſtance of the clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the Queen Dowager, and the ſupport of the whole Popiſh faction, to hold by force, what he had ſeized on by fraud. But Beatoun had enjoyed power too long to be a favourite of the nation. Thoſe among the nobles who wiſhed for a Reformation in religion dreaded his ſeverity, and others conſidered the elevation of a Churchman to the higheſt office in the kingdom as a depreſſion of themſelves. At their inſtigation, James Hamilton Earl

* Sadler's Lett. 161.

of

of Arran, and next heir to the Queen, rouzed himſelf from his inactivity, and was prevailed on to aſpire to that ſtation, to which proximity of blood gave him a natural title. The nobles, who were aſſembled for that purpoſe, unanimouſly conferred on him the office of regent; and the public voice applauded their choice.

Earl of Arran choſen Regent.

No two men ever differed more widely in diſpoſition and character, than the Earl of Arran and Cardinal Beatoun. The Cardinal was by nature of immoderate ambition; by long experience he had acquired addreſs and refinement; and inſolence grew upon him from continual ſucceſs. His high ſtation in the church placed him in the way of great employments; his abilities were equal to the greateſt of theſe; nor did he reckon any of them to be above his merit. As his own eminence was founded upon the power of the church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that ſuperſtition, and for the ſame reaſon an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the Reformers. Political motives alone determined him to ſupport the one, or to oppoſe the other. His early application to public buſineſs kept him unacquainted with the learning and controverſies of the age; he gave judgment, however, upon all the points in diſpute, with a precipitancy, violence, and rigour, which cotemporary hiſtorians mention with indignation.

Character of Beatoun.

THE character of the Earl of Arran was, in almoſt every thing, the reverſe of the other's. He was neither infected with ambition, nor inclined to cruelty: The love of eaſe extinguiſhed the former, the ſoftneſs of his temper preſerved him from the latter. Timidity and irreſolution were his predominant failings, the one occaſioned by his natural conſtitution, and the other ariſing from a conſciouſ-

Of Arran.

Book II. neſs that his abilities were not equal to his ſtation. With theſe diſpoſitions he might have enjoyed and adorned private life; but his public conduct was without courage, or dignity, or conſiſtence. The perpetual ſlave of his own fears, and, by conſequence, the perpetual tool of thoſe, who found their advantage in practiſing upon them. But as no other perſon could be ſet in oppoſition to the Cardinal, with any probability of ſucceſs, the nation declared in his favour with ſo general a conſent, that the artifices of his rival could not withſtand its united ſtrength.

Schemes of Henry VIII. with regard to Scotland.

THE Earl of Arran had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of his new dignity, when a negociation was opened with England, which gave birth to events of the moſt fatal conſequence to himſelf, and to the kingdom. After the death of James, Henry VIII. was no longer afraid of any interruption from Scotland to his deſigns againſt France; and immediately conceived hopes of rendering this ſecurity perpetual, by the marriage of Edward his only ſon with the young Queen of Scots. He communicated his intention to the priſoners taken at Solway, and prevailed on them to favour it, by the promiſe of liberty, as the reward of their ſucceſs. In the mean time, he permitted them to return into Scotland, that, by their preſence in the Parliament which the Regent had called, they might be the better able to perſuade their countrymen to fall in with his propoſals. A cauſe, entruſted to ſuch able and zealous advocates, could not well miſs of coming to an happy iſſue. All thoſe who feared the Cardinal, or who deſired a change in religion, were fond of an alliance, which afforded protection to the doctrine which they had embraced, as well as to their own perſons, againſt the rage of that powerful and haughty Prelate.

But Henry's rough and impatient temper was incapable of improving this favourable conjuncture. Addreſs and delicacy in managing the fears, and follies, and intereſts of men, were arts with which he was utterly unacquainted. The deſigns he had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage which he had propoſed, and he had not dexterity enough to diſguiſe, or to conceal them. Inſtead of yielding to the fear or jealouſy of the Scots, what time and accidents would ſoon have enabled him to recover, he, at once, alarmed and irritated the whole nation, by demanding that the Queen's perſon ſhould be immediately committed to his cuſtody, and that the government of the kingdom ſhould be put in his hands during her minority.

Ill conducted by himſelf.

Henry could not have preſcribed more ignominious conditions to a conquered people, and it is no wonder they were rejected, with indignation, by men who ſcorned to purchaſe an alliance with England, at the price of their own liberty. The parliament of Scotland, however, influenced by the nobles who returned from England; deſirous of peace with that kingdom; and delivered, by the Regent's confining the Cardinal as a priſoner, from any oppoſition to which he might have given riſe; conſented to a treaty of marriage and of union, but upon ſomewhat a more equal footing. And after ſome dark and unſucceſsful intrigues, by which his ambaſſador endeavoured to carry off the young Queen and Cardinal Beatoun into England, Henry was obliged to give up his own propoſals, and to accept of theirs. On his ſide, he conſented that the Queen ſhould continue to reſide in Scotland, and himſelf remain excluded from any ſhare in the government of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Scots agreed to ſend their Sovereign into England as ſoon as ſhe attained the full age of ten years, and inſtantly

Odious to the Scots, though in part accepted by them.

March 12. 1543.

ſtantly to deliver ſix perſons, of the firſt rank, to be kept as hoſtages by Henry till the Queen's arrival at his court.

Favoured by the Regent.

Oppoſed by the Cardinal.

The treaty was ſtill ſo manifeſtly of advantage to England, that the Regent loſt much of the public confidence by conſenting to it. The Cardinal, who had now recovered liberty, watched for ſuch an opportunity of regaining credit, and he did not fail to cultivate and improve this to the utmoſt. He complained loudly, that the Regent had betrayed the kingdom to its moſt inveterate enemies, and ſacrificed its honour to his own ambition. He foretold the extinction of true catholic religion, under the tyranny of an excommunicated heretic; but above all, he lamented to ſee an ancient kingdom conſenting to its own ſlavery, deſcending into the ignominious ſtation of a dependent province; and, in one hour, the weakneſs or treachery of a ſingle man ſurrendering every thing, for which the Scottiſh nation had ſtruggled and fought during ſo many ages. Theſe remonſtrances of the Cardinal were not without effect. They were addreſſed to prejudices and paſſions which are deeply rooted in the human heart. The ſame hatred to the ancient enemies of their country, the ſame jealouſy of national honour, and pride of independence, which, at the beginning of the preſent century, went near to prevent the Scots from conſenting to an union with England, upon terms of great advantage, did, at that time, induce the whole nation to declare againſt the alliance which had been concluded. In the one period, an hundred and fifty years of peace between the two nations, the habit of being ſubjected to the ſame King, and governed by the ſame maxims, had conſiderably abated old animoſities, and prepared both people for incorporating. In the other, injuries were ſtill freſh, the wounds on both ſides were open, and, in the warmth of reſentment, it was natural to ſeek revenge,

venge, and to be averſe from reconcilement. At the Union in 1707, the wiſdom of parliament deſpiſed the groundleſs murmurs occaſioned by antiquated prejudices; but in 1543, the complaints of the nation were better founded, and urged with a zeal and unanimity, which it is neither juſt, nor ſafe to diſregard. The rage of the people roſe to ſuch an height, that the Engliſh ambaſſador could hardly be protected from their inſults. The clergy contributed a great ſum towards preſerving the church from the dominion of a Prince, whoſe ſyſtem of Reformation was ſo fatal to their power. The nobles, after having mortified the Cardinal, ſo lately, in ſuch a cruel manner, were, now, ready to applaud and to ſecond him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country.

He excites almoſt the whole nation againſt the Engliſh.

Argyll, Huntly, Bothwell, and other powerful Barons openly declared againſt the alliance with England. By their aſſiſtance, the Cardinal ſeized on the perſons of the young Queen and her mother, and added to his party the ſplendor and authority of the royal name *. He received, at the ſame time, a more real acceſſion to his ſtrength, by the arrival of Matthew Stewart Earl of Lennox, whoſe return from France he had earneſtly ſollicited. This young nobleman was the hereditary enemy of the houſe of Hamilton. He had many claims upon the Regent, and pretended a right to exclude him, not only from ſucceeding to the Crown, but to deprive him of the poſſeſſion of his private fortune. The Cardinal flattered his vanity, with the proſpect of marrying the Queen Dowager, and affected to treat him with ſo much reſpect, that the Regent became jealous of him as a rival in power.

This ſuſpicion was artfully heightened by the Abbot of Paiſley, who returned into Scotland ſome time before the Earl of Lennox,

* Keith's Hiſt. of Scotl. 30.

Book II. and acted in concert with the Cardinal. He was a natural brother of the Regent, with whom he had great credit; a warm partizan of France, and a zealous defender of the eſtabliſhed Religion. He took hold of the Regent by the proper handle, and endeavoured to bring about a change in his ſentiments, by working upon his fears. The deſertion of the nobility, the diſaffection of the clergy, and the rage of the people; the reſentment of France, the power of the Cardinal, and the pretenſions of Lennox, were all repreſented with aggravation, and with their moſt threatning aſpect.

Mean while, the day appointed for the ratification of the treaty with England, and the delivery of the hoſtages approached, and the Regent was ſtill undetermined in his own mind. He acted to the laſt, with that irreſolution and inconſiſtence, which is peculiar to weak men, when they are ſo unfortunate as to have the chief part in the conduct of difficult affairs. On the 25th of Auguſt, he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the Cardinal, who ſtill continued to oppoſe it, an enemy to his country. On the 3d of September, he ſecretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the Cardinal at Callender, renounced the friendſhip of England, and declared for the intereſts of France *.

Obliges the Regent to renounce the friendſhip with England.

Henry, in order to gain the Regent, had not ſpared the moſt magnificent promiſes. He had offered to give the Princeſs Elizabeth in marriage to his eldeſt ſon, and to conſtitute him King of that part of Scotland, which lies beyond the river Forth. But upon finding his intereſt in the kingdom to be leſs conſiderable than he had imagined, the Engliſh monarch began to treat him

* Sadler, 339, 356.

with

with little reſpect. The young Queen was now in the cuſtody of his enemies, who grew every day more numerous and more popular. They formed a ſeparate court at Stirling, and threatened to elect another Regent. The French King was ready to afford them his protection, and the nation, out of hatred to the Engliſh, would have united in their defence. In this ſituation, the Regent could not retain his authority, without a ſudden change of his meaſures; and though he endeavoured, by ratifying the treaty, to preſerve the appearances of good faith with England, he was obliged to throw himſelf into the arms of the party, which adhered to France.

And to perſecute the Reformers.

SOON after this ſudden revolution in his political principles, the Regent changed his ſentiments concerning religion. The ſpirit of controverſy was then new and warm; books of that kind were eagerly read by men of every rank; the love of novelty, or the conviction of truth, had led the Regent to expreſs great eſteem for the writings of the Reformers; and having been powerfully ſupported by thoſe who had embraced their opinions, he, in order to gratify them, entertained, in his own family, two of the moſt noted preachers of the Proteſtant doctrine, and, in his firſt Parliament, conſented to an act, by which the laity were permitted to read the ſcriptures in a language which they underſtood. Truth needed only a fair hearing to be an over-match for error. Abſurdities, which had long impoſed on the ignorance and credulity of mankind, were detected and expoſed to public ridicule; and under the countenance of the Regent, the Reformation made great advances. The Cardinal obſerved its progreſs with concern, and was at the utmoſt pains to obſtruct it. He repreſented to the regent his great imprudence in giving encouragement to opinions, ſo favourable to Lennox's pretenſions; that his

Book II. own legitimacy depended upon the validity of a ſentence of divorce, founded on the Pope's authority; and that by ſuffering it to be called in queſtion, he weakened his own title to the ſucceſſion, and furniſhed his rival with the only argument, by which it could be rendered doubtful *. Theſe inſinuations made a deep impreſſion on the Regent's timorous ſpirit, who, at the proſpect of ſuch imaginary dangers, was as much ſtartled as the Cardinal could have wiſhed; and his zeal for the Proteſtant religion was not long proof againſt his fear. He publickly abjured the doctrine of the Reformers in the Franciſcan church at Stirling, and declared not only for the political, but the religious opinions of his new confidents.

The Proteſtant doctrine did not ſuffer much by his apoſtacy. It had already taken ſo deep root in the kingdom, that no diſcouragement or ſeverity could extirpate it. The Regent indeed conſented to every thing, that the zeal of the Cardinal thought neceſſary for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed religion. The Reformers were perſecuted with all the cruelty, which ſuperſtition inſpires into a barbarous people. Many were condemned to that dreadful death, which the church has appointed for the puniſhment of its enemies; but they ſuffered with a ſpirit ſo nearly reſembling the patience and fortitude of the primitive martyrs, that more were converted, than terrified by thoſe ſpectacles.

* The pretenſions of the Earl of Lennox to the ſucceſſion were thus founded. Mary, the daughter of James II. was married to James Lord Hamilton. Elizabeth, a daughter of that marriage, was the wife of Matthew Earl of Lennox, and the preſent Earl was her grandſon. The Regent was likewiſe the grandſon of the Princeſs Mary. But his father having married Janet Beaton the Regent's mother, after he had obtained a divorce from Elizabeth Home his former wife, Lennox pretended that the ſentence of divorce was unjuſt, and that the Regent, being born while Elizabeth Home was ſtill alive, ought to be conſidered as illegitimate. Crawf. Peer. 192.

Beatoun engroſſes the chief direction of affairs.

The Cardinal, however, was now in poſſeſſion of every thing his ambition could deſire; and exerciſed all the authority of a Regent, without the envy of the name. He had nothing to fear from the Earl of Arran, who having by his inconſtancy forfeited the public eſteem, was contemned by one half of the nation, and little truſted by the other. The pretenſions of the Earl of Lennox were the only thing which remained to embarraſs him. He had very ſucceſsfully made uſe of that nobleman to work upon the Regent's jealouſy and fear, but as he no longer ſtood in need of ſuch an inſtrument, he was willing to get rid of him with decency. Lennox ſoon began to ſuſpect his intention; promiſes, flattery, and reſpect were the only returns he had hitherto received for ſubſtantial ſervices; but at laſt the Cardinal's artifices could no longer be concealed, and Lennox, inſtead of attaining power and dignity himſelf, ſaw that he had been employed only to procure theſe for another. Reſentment and diſappointed ambition puſhed him on to ſeek revenge on that cunning prelate, who, by ſacrificing his intereſt, had ſo ungenerouſly purchaſed the Earl of Arran's friendſhip. He withdrew, for that reaſon, from court, and declared for the party at enmity with the Cardinal, which, with open arms, received a convert, who added ſo much luſtre to their cauſe.

The two factions which divided the kingdom were ſtill the ſame, without any alterations in their views or principles; but, by one of thoſe ſtrange revolutions, which were frequent in that age, they had, in the courſe of a few weeks, changed their leaders. The Regent was at the head of the partizans of France and the defenders of Popery, and Lennox in the ſame ſtation with the advocates for the Engliſh alliance, and a reformation in religion. The one laboured

Book II. to pull down his own work, which the other upheld with the ſame hand, that had hitherto endeavoured to deſtroy it.

LENNOX's impatience for revenge got the ſtart of the Cardinal's activity. He ſurpriſed both him and the Regent by a ſudden march to Edinburgh with a numerous army; and might eaſily have cruſhed them, before they could prepare for their defence. But he was weak enough to liſten to propoſals for an accommodation; and the Cardinal amuſed him ſo artfully, and ſpun out the treaty to ſuch a length, that the greater part of the Earl's troops, who ſerved, as is uſual wherever the feudal inſtitutions prevail, at their own expence, deſerted him; and in concluding a peace, inſtead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A ſecond attempt to retrieve his affairs ended yet more unfortunately. One body of his troops was cut to pieces, and the reſt diſperſed; and with the poor remains of a ruined party, he muſt either have ſubmitted to the conqueror, or have fled out of the kingdom, if the approach of an Engliſh army had not brought him a ſhort relief.

Henry invades Scotland.

HENRY was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity, with which he had been treated, both by the Regent and Parliament of Scotland, who, at the time when they renounced their alliance with him, had entered into a new and ſtricter confederacy with France. The rigour of the ſeaſon retarded for ſome time the execution of his vengeance. But in the ſpring, a conſiderable body of infantry which was deſtined for France, received orders to ſail for Scotland, and a proper number of cavalry was appointed to join it by land. The Regent and Cardinal little expected ſuch a viſit. They had truſted that the French war would find employment for all Henry's forces; and, from an unaccountable ſecurity, were wholly

wholly unprovided for the defence of the kingdom. The Earl of Hartford, a leader fatal to the Scots in that age, commanded this army, and landed it, without oppoſition, a few miles above Leith. He was quickly maſter of that place; and marching directly to Edinburgh, entered it with the ſame eaſe. After plundering the adjacent country, the richeſt, and moſt open in Scotland, he ſet on fire both theſe towns; and upon the approach of ſome troops gathered together by the Regent, put his booty on board the fleet, and with his land forces retired ſafely to the Engliſh borders, delivering the kingdom, in a few days, from the terror of an invaſion, concerted with little policy, carried on at great expence, and attended with no advantage. If Henry aimed at the conqueſt of Scotland, he gained nothing by this expedition; if the marriage he had propoſed, was ſtill in his view, he loſt a great deal. Such a rough courtſhip, as the Earl of Huntly humorouſly called it, diſguſted the whole nation; their averſion for the match grew into abhorrence; and exaſperated by ſo many indignities, the Scots were never, at any period, more attached to France, or more alienated from England. BOOK II. May 3, 1544.

THE Earl of Lennox alone, in ſpite to the Regent and French King, continued a correſpondence with England, which ruined his own intereſt, without promoting Henry's. Many of his own vaſſals preferring their duty to their country before their affection to him, refuſed to concur in any deſign to favour the public enemy. And after a few feeble and unſucceſsful attempts to diſturb the Regent's adminiſtration, he was obliged to fly for ſafety to the court of England, where Henry rewarded ſervices which he had the inclination, but not the power to perform, by giving him in marriage his niece the Lady Margaret Douglas. This unhappy exile, however,

Book II. however, was deſtined to be the father of a race of kings. He ſaw his ſon Lord Darnley mount the throne of Scotland, to the perpetual excluſion of that rival who now triumphed in his ruin. And, from that time, his poſterity have held the ſceptre in two kingdoms, by one of which he was caſt out as a criminal, and by the other received as a fugitive.

A peace concluded.

MEAN while hoſtilities were continued by both nations, but with little vigour on either ſide. The hiſtorians of that age relate minutely the circumſtances of ſeveral ſkirmiſhes and inroads, which as they did not produce any conſiderable effect, at this diſtance of time deſerve no remembrance *. At laſt an end was put to this languid and

* THOUGH this war was diſtinguiſhed by no important or deciſive action, it was, however, extremely ruinous to individuals. There ſtill remain two original papers, which give us ſome idea of the miſeries, to which the moſt fertile counties in the kingdom were expoſed, by the ſudden and deſtructive incurſions of the borderers. The firſt ſeems to be the report made to Henry by the Engliſh wardens of the marches, for the year 1544, and contains their exploits from the 2d of July, to the 17th of November. The account it gives of the different inroads, or *Forrays*, as they are called, is very minute; and in concluſion, the ſum total of miſchief they did is thus computed:

Towns, towers, ſtedes, barnekyns, paryſhe-churches, baſtel-houſes caſt down or burnt - - -	192
Scots ſlain - - - -	403
Priſoners taken - - -	816
Nolt, i. e. horned cattle, taken - - -	10,386
Sheep - - -	12,492
Nags and geldings - - -	1,296
Goats - - - -	200
Bolls of corn - - -	850

Inſight-gear, i. e. houſhold furniture, not reckoned.

Haynes' ſtate papers, 43

The

and inactive war, by a peace, in which England, France, and Scotland were comprehended. Henry laboured to exclude the Scots from the benefit of this treaty, and to reſerve them for that vengeance, which his attention to the affairs of the continent had hitherto delayed. But although a peace with England was of the laſt conſequence to Francis I. whom the Emperor was preparing to attack with all his forces, he was too generous to abandon allies, who had ſerved him with fidelity, and he choſe rather to purchaſe Henry's friendſhip with diſadvantage to himſelf, than to leave them expoſed to danger. By yielding ſome things to the intereſt, and more to the vanity of that haughty Prince; by ſubmiſſion, flattery, and addreſs, he, at length, prevailed to have the Scots included in the peace agreed upon.

BOOK II. June 1546.

THE conſternation occaſioned by an event, which happened a ſhort time before the concluſion of this peace, rendered it more acceptable to the whole nation. Cardinal Beatoun had not uſed his power with moderation, equal to the prudence by which he

The murder of Beatoun.

The other contains an account of an inroad by the Earl of Hartford, between the 8th and 23d of September, 1545; the narrative is more general, but it appears that he had burnt, razed, and deſtroyed in the counties of Berwick and Roxburgh only,

Monaſteries and Friar-houſes	7
Caſtles, towers, and piles	16
Market towns	5
Villages	243
Milns	13
Hoſpitals	3

All theſe were caſt down or burnt. Haynes 52. As the Scots were no leſs ſkilful in the practice of irregular war, we may conclude that the damage which they did in England was not inconſiderable; and that their *raids* were no leſs waſteful, than the *forrays* of the Engliſh.

Book II. attained it. Notwithſtanding his great abilities, he had too many of the paſſions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His reſentment againſt one party of the nobility, his inſolence towards the reſt, his ſeverity to the Reformers, and, above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wiſhart, a man of honourable birth, and of primitive ſanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was wanting to gratify the public wiſh by his deſtruction. Private revenge, inflamed and ſanctified by a falſe zeal for religion, quickly ſupplied this want. Norman Leſly, the eldeſt ſon of the earl of Rothes, had been treated by the Cardinal with injuſtice and contempt. It was not the temper of the man, or the ſpirit of the times, quietly to digeſt an affront. And as the profeſſion of his adverſary ſcreened him from the effects of what is called an honourable reſentment, he reſolved to take that ſatisfaction, which he could not demand. This reſolution deſerves as much cenſure, as the ſingular courage and conduct with which he put it in execution excite wonder. The Cardinal, at that time, reſided in the caſtle of Saint Andrew's, which he had fortified at great expence, and in the opinion of the age had rendered it impregnable. His retinue was numerous, the town at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. In this ſituation, ſixteen perſons undertook to ſurpriſe his caſtle, and to aſſaſſinate himſelf; and their ſucceſs was equal to the boldneſs of the attempt. Early in the morning they ſeized on the gate
May 29, 1546. of the caſtle, which was ſet open to the workmen who were employed in finiſhing the fortifications; and having placed ſentries at the door of the Cardinal's apartment, they awakened his numerous domeſtics one by one, and turning them out of the caſtle, they without noiſe, or tumult, or violence to any other perſon, delivered their

their country, though by a moſt unjuſtifiable action, from an ambitious man, whoſe pride was inſupportable to the nobles, as his cruelty and cunning were the great checks to the Reformation.

The Regent attempts in vain to ſeize themurderers.

HIS death was fatal to the Catholic religion, and to the French intereſt in Scotland. The ſame zeal for both continued among a great party in the nation, but when deprived of the genius and authority of ſo ſkilful a leader, was of ſmall conſequence. Nothing can equal the conſternation which a blow ſo unexpected occaſioned among his adherents; while the Regent ſecretly enjoyed an event, which removed out of his way a rival, who had not only eclipſed his greatneſs, but almoſt extinguiſhed his power. Decency, however, the honour of the church, the importunity of the Queen Dowager and her faction, his engagements with France, and, above all theſe, the deſire of recovering his eldeſt ſon, whom the Cardinal had detained for ſome time at St. Andrew's in pledge of his fidelity, and who, together with the caſtle, had fallen into the hands of the conſpirators, induced him to take arms in order to revenge the death of a man he hated.

HE threatened vengeance, but was unable to execute it. One part of military ſcience, the art of attacking fortified places, was then unknown in Scotland. The weapons, the diſcipline, and impetuoſity of the Scots, rendered their armies as unfit for ſieges, as they were active in the field. An hundred and fifty men, which was the greateſt number the conſpirators ever aſſembled, reſiſted all the efforts of the Regent for five months *, in a place, which a ſingle battalion, with a few battering cannon, would now re-

* Epiſt. Reg. Scot. 2. 379.

Book II. duce in as many days. This tedious ſiege was concluded by a truce. The Regent undertook to procure for the conſpirators an abſolution from the Pope, and a pardon in Parliament; and upon obtaining theſe, they engaged to ſurrender the caſtle, and to ſet his ſon at liberty.

It is probable, that neither of them were ſincere in this treaty. On both ſides, they ſought only to amuſe, and to gain time. The Regent had applied to France for aſſiſtance, and expected ſoon to have the conſpirators at mercy. On the other hand, if Leſly and his aſſociates were not at firſt incited by Henry to murder the Cardinal, they were, in the ſequel, powerfully ſupported by him. Notwithſtanding the ſilence of cotemporary hiſtorians, there are violent preſumptions of the former; of the latter there is undoubted certainty*. During the ſiege, the conſpirators had received from England ſupplies both of money and proviſions; and as Henry was preparing to renew his propoſals concerning the marriage and the union he had projected, and to ſecond his negotiations with a numerous army, they hoped, by concurring with him, to be in a ſituation, in which they would no longer need a pardon, but might claim a reward.

January 28, 1547. The death of Henry blaſted all theſe hopes. It happened in the beginning of next year, after a reign of greater ſplendor than true glory; buſtling, though not active; oppreſſive in domeſtic government, and in foreign politics wild and irregular. But the vices of this Prince were more beneficial to mankind, than the virtues of others. His rapaciouſneſs, his profuſion, and even his tyranny, by depreſſing the ancient nobility, and by adding new property and

* Keith, 60.

power to the Commons, laid the foundations of the Britiſh liberty. His other paſſions contributed no leſs towards the downfal of Popery, and the eſtabliſhment of religious freedom in the nation. His reſentment led him to aboliſh the power, and his covetouſneſs to ſeize the wealth of the church; and by withdrawing theſe ſupports, made it eaſy, in the following reign, to overturn the whole fabric of ſuperſtition.

FRANCIS I. did not long ſurvive a Prince, who had been alternately his rival and his friend; but his ſucceſſor Henry II. was not neglectful of the French intereſt in Scotland. He ſent a conſiderable body of men, under the command of Leon Strozzi, to the Regent's aſſiſtance. By their long experience in the Italian and German wars, the French had become as dextrous in the conduct of ſieges, as the Scots were ignorant; and as the boldneſs and deſpair of the conſpirators could not defend them againſt their ſuperior art, they, after a ſhort reſiſtance, ſurrendered to Strozzi, who engaged, in the name of the King his maſter, for the ſecurity of their lives; and as his priſoners tranſported them into France. The caſtle itſelf, the monument of Beatoun's power and vanity, was demoliſhed, in obedience to the canon law, which, with admirable policy, denounces its anathemas even againſt the houſes in which the ſacred blood of a Cardinal happens to be ſhed, and ordains them to be laid in ruins*.

Troops arrive from France.

Force the caſtle of St. Andrew's to ſurrender.

THE archbiſhoprick of St. Andrew's was beſtowed by the Regent upon his natural brother, John Hamilton Abbot of Paiſley.

* Burn. Hiſt. Ref. 1. 338.

Book II. New breach with England.

THE delay of a few weeks would have ſaved the conſpirators. Thoſe Miniſters of Henry VIII. who had the chief direction of affairs during the minority of his ſon Edward VI. conducted themſelves, with regard to Scotland, by the maxims of their late maſter, and reſolved to frighten the Scots into a treaty, which they had not abilities or addreſs to bring about by any other method.

BUT before we proceed to relate the events which their invaſion of Scotland occaſioned, we ſhall ſtop to take notice of a circumſtance unobſerved by cotemporary hiſtorians, but extremely remarkable for the diſcovery it makes of the ſentiments and ſpirit, which then prevailed among the Scots. The conſpirators againſt Cardinal Beatoun found the Regent's eldeſt ſon in the caſtle of St. Andrew's; and as they needed the protection of the Engliſh, it was to be feared that they might endeavour to purchaſe it, by delivering to them this important prize. The preſumptive heir to the Crown, in the hands of the avowed enemies of the kingdom, was a dreadful proſpect. And, in order to avoid it, the Parliament fell upon a very extraordinary expedient. By an act made of purpoſe, they excluded "the Regent's eldeſt ſon from all right of ſucceſſion, "public or private, ſo long as he ſhould be detained a priſoner, "and ſubſtituted in his place, his other brothers, according to their "ſeniority, and in failure of them, thoſe who were next heirs to "the Regent*." Succeſſion by hereditary right is an idea ſo obvious and ſo popular, that a nation ſeldom ventures to make a breach in it, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity. Such a neceſſity did the Parliament diſcover in the preſent ſituation. Hatred to England, founded on the memory of paſt hoſtilities, and heightened by the ſmart of recent injuries, was the national paſſion. This dictated

* Epiſt. Reg. Scot. 2. 359.

that

that uncommon ſtatute, by which the order of lineal ſucceſſion was ſo remarkably broken. The modern theories, which repreſent this right as divine and unalienable, and that ought not to be violated upon any conſideration whatſoever, ſeem to have been then altogether unknown.

Scotland invaded by the Engliſh.

IN the beginning of September, the Earl of Hartford, now Duke of Somerſet, and Protector of England, entered Scotland at the head of 18,000 men; and, at the ſame time, a fleet of 60 ſhips appeared on the coaſt, to ſecond his land forces. The Scots had for ſome time obſerved this ſtorm gathering, and were prepared for it. Their army was almoſt double to that of the enemy, and poſted to the greateſt advantage on a riſing ground, above Muſſelburgh, not far from the banks of the river Eſke. Both theſe circumſtances alarmed the Duke of Somerſet, who ſaw his danger, and would willingly have extricated himſelf out of it, by a new overture of peace on conditions extremely reaſonable. But this moderation was imputed to fear; and his propoſals were rejected with that ſcorn, which the confidence of ſucceſs inſpires. And had the conduct of the Regent, who commanded the Scottiſh army, been in any degree equal to his confidence, the deſtruction of the Engliſh muſt have been inevitable. They were in a ſituation, preciſely ſimilar to that of their countrymen under Oliver Cromwell, in the following century. The Scots had choſen their ground ſo well, that it was impoſſible to force them to give battle; a few days had exhauſted the forage and proviſion of a narrow country; the fleet could only furniſh a ſcanty and precarious ſubſiſtence; a retreat therefore was neceſſary; but diſgrace, and perhaps ruin, were the conſequences of retreating.

BOOK II. ON both theſe occaſions, the national heat and impetuoſity of the Scots ſaved the Engliſh, and precipitated their own country into the utmoſt danger. The undiſciplined courage of the private men became impatient at the ſight of an enemy. The General was afraid of nothing, but that the Engliſh would eſcape from him by flight; and leaving his advantageous ſituation, he attacked the Duke of Somerſet near Pinkey, with no better ſucceſs than his raſhneſs deſerved. The Protector had drawn up his troops on a gentle eminence, and had now the advantage of ground on his ſide. The Scotch army conſiſted almoſt intirely of infantry, whoſe chief weapon was a long ſpear, and for that reaſon their files were very deep, and their ranks cloſe. They advanced towards the enemy in three great bodies, and as they paſſed the river, were conſiderably expoſed to the fire of the Engliſh Fleet, which lay in the bay of Muſſelburgh, and had drawn near the ſhore. The Engliſh cavalry, flushed with an advantage which they had gained in a ſkirmiſh ſome days before, began the attack with more impetuoſity, than good conduct. A body ſo firm and compact as the Scots, eaſily reſiſted the impreſſion of cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. The Engliſh infantry, however, advanced, and the Scots were at once expoſed to a flight of arrows, to a fire in flank from 400 foreign Fuſileers who ſerved the enemy, and to their cannon which were planted behind the infantry, on the higheſt part of the eminence. The depth and cloſeneſs of their order making it impoſſible for the Scots to ſtand long in this ſituation; the Earl of Angus, who commanded the vanguard, endeavoured to change his ground, and to retire towards the main body. But his friends unhappily miſtook this motion for a flight, and fell into confuſion. At that very inſtant, the broken cavalry having rallied, returned to the charge; the foot purſued the advantage they had gained; the proſpect of victory

Battle of Pinkey.

September 10, 1547.

victory redoubled the ardor of both; and, in a moment, the rout of the Scottiſh army became univerſal, and irretrievable. The encounter in the field was not long, nor bloody; but, in the purſuit, the Engliſh diſcovered all the rage and fierceneſs, which national antipathy, kindled by long emulation, and inflamed by reciprocal injuries, is apt to inſpire. The purſuit was continued for five hours, and to a great diſtance. All the three roads, by which the Scots fled, were ſtrewed with ſpears and ſwords, and targets, and covered with the bodies of the ſlain. Above 10,000 men fell on this day, one of the moſt fatal Scotland had ever ſeen. A few were taken priſoners, and among theſe ſome perſons of diſtinction. And the Protector had it now in his power to become maſter of a kingdom, out of which, not many hours before, he was almoſt obliged to retire with infamy *. BOOK II.

BUT

* The following paſſage in a curious and rare journal of the Protector's expedition into Scotland, written by W. Patten, who was joined in commiſſion with Cecil, as Judge Marſhal of the army, and printed in 1548, deſerves our notice; as it gives a juſt idea of the military diſcipline of the Scots at that time. "But what after I learned, ſpecially touching their order, their armour, and their manner as well of going to offend, as of ſtanding to defend, I have thought neceſſary here to utter. Hackbutters have they few or none, and appoint their fight moſt commonly always a-foot. They come to the field well furniſhed all with jack and ſkull, dagger and buckler, and ſwords all broad and thin, of exceeding good temper, and univerſally ſo made to ſlice, that as I never ſaw none ſo good, ſo think I it hard to deviſe the better. Hereto every man his pike, and a great kercher wrapped twice or thrice about his neck, not for cold, but for cutting. In their array towards joining with the enemy, they cling and thruſt ſo near in the fore rank, ſhoulder and ſhoulder together, with their pikes in both their hands ſtreight afore them, and their followers in that order ſo hard at their backs, laying their pikes over their foregoers ſhoulders, that, if they do aſſail undiſcovered, no force can well withſtand them. Standing at defence they thruſt ſhoulders likewiſe ſo nigh together, the fore ranks well nigh

BOOK II.

Their victory of little benefit to the Engliſh.

BUT this victory, however great, was of no real utility, for want of ſkill, or of leiſure, to improve it. Every new injury rendered the Scots more averſe from an union with England; and the Protector neglected the only meaſure, which would have made it neceſſary for them to have given their conſent to it. He amuſed himſelf in waſting the open country, and in taking or building ſeveral petty caſtles; whereas by fortifying a few places which were acceſſible by ſea, he would have laid the kingdom open to the Engliſh, and, in a ſhort time, the Scots muſt either have accepted of his terms, or have ſubmitted to his power. By ſuch an improvement of it, his victory at Dunbar gave Cromwell the command of Scotland. The battle of Pinkey had no other effect but to precipitate the Scots into new engagements with France. The ſituation of the Engliſh court may, indeed, be pleaded in excuſe for the Duke of Somerſet's conduct. That cabal of his enemies, which occaſioned his tragical end, was already formed; and while he triumphed in Scotland, they ſecretly undermined his power and credit at home. Self-preſervation, therefore, obliged him to prefer his ſafety before his fame, and to return without reaping the fruits of his victory. At this time, however, the cloud blew over; the conſpiracy by which

nigh to kneeling, ſtoop low before, their fellows behind holding their pikes with both hands, and therewith in their left their bucklers, the one end of the pike againſt their right foot, and the other againſt the enemy breaſt-high; their followers croſſing their pike points with them forward; and thus each with other ſo nigh as ſpace and place will ſuffer, through the whole ward, ſo thick, that as eaſily ſhall a bare finger pierce through the ſkin of an angry hedge hog, as any encounter the front of their pikes." Other curious particulars are found in this journal, from which Sir John Hayward has borrowed his account of this expedition.

Life of Edward VI. 279, &c.

The length of the Scots pike or ſpear was appointed by Act. 44. P. 1471. to be ſix ells; i. e. eighteen feet ſix inches.

he

he fell was not yet ripe for execution; and his preſence ſuſpended, for ſome time, its effect. The ſupreme power ſtill remained in his hands, and he employed it to recover the opportunity, which he had loſt. A body of troops, by his command, ſeized and fortified Haddingtoun, a place, which, on account of its diſtance from the ſea, and from any Engliſh garriſon, could not be defended without great expence and danger. Book II. April, 1548.

Forces the Scots into a cloſer union with France.

MEAN while the French gained more by the defeat of their allies, than the Engliſh did by their victory. After the death of Cardinal Beatoun, Mary of Guiſe, the Queen Dowager, took a conſiderable ſhare in the direction of affairs. She was warmly attached by blood, and by inclination, to the French intereſt; and, in order to promote it, improved with great dexterity every event which occurred. The ſpirit and ſtrength of the Scots were broken at Pinkey; and in an aſſembly of nobles which met at Stirling to conſult upon the ſituation of the kingdom, all eyes were turned towards France, no proſpect of ſafety appearing but in aſſiſtance from thence. But Henry II. being then at peace with England, the Queen repreſented that they could not expect him to take part in their quarrel, but upon views of perſonal advantage; and that without extraordinary conceſſions in his favour, no aſſiſtance in proportion to their preſent exigencies could be obtained. The prejudices of the nation powerfully ſeconded theſe repreſentations of the Queen. What often happens to individuals took place among the nobles in this convention; they were ſwayed entirely by their paſſions, and in order to gratify them, they deſerted their former principles, and diſregarded their true intereſt. In the violence of reſentment, they forgot that zeal for the independence of Scotland, which had prompted them to reject the propoſals of Henry VIII. and by offering, voluntarily,

BOOK II. their young Queen in marriage to the Dauphin eldeſt ſon of Henry II. and which was ſtill more, by propoſing to ſend her immediately into France to be educated at his court, they granted, from a thirſt of vengeance, what formerly they would not yield upon any conſideration of their own ſafety. To gain at once ſuch a kingdom as Scotland, was a matter of no ſmall conſequence to France. Henry, without heſitation, accepted the offers of the Scottiſh ambaſſadors, and prepared for the vigorous defence of his new acquiſition. Six thouſand veteran ſoldiers, under the command of Monſieur Deſſé, aſſiſted by ſome of the beſt officers, who were formed in the long wars of Francis I. arrived at Leith. They ſerved two campaigns in Scotland, with a ſpirit equal to their former fame. But their exploits were not conſiderable. The Scots ſoon became jealous of their deſigns, and neglected to ſupport them with proper vigour; and the caution of the Engliſh, in acting wholly upon the defenſive, prevented them from attempting any enterprize of conſequence; and obliged them to exhauſt their ſtrength in tedious ſieges, undertaken under many diſadvantages. Their efforts, however, were not without ſome benefit to the Scots, by compelling the Engliſh to evacuate Haddingtoun, and to ſurrender ſeveral ſmall forts, which they poſſeſſed in different parts of the kingdom.

And to offer their Queen in marriage to the Dauphin.

BUT the conſequences of theſe operations of his troops were ſtill of greater importance to the French King. The diverſion which they occaſioned enabled him to wreſt Boulogne out of the hands of the Engliſh; and the influence of his army in Scotland obtained the concurrence of Parliament with the overtures made to him, by the aſſembly of nobles at Stirling, concerning the Queen's marriage with the Dauphin, and her education at the court of France. In vain did a few patriots remonſtrate againſt ſuch extravagant conceſſions,

ceſſions, by which Scotland was reduced to be a province of France; and Henry, from an ally, raiſed to be maſter of the kingdom; by which, the friendſhip of France became more fatal than the enmity of England; and every thing was fondly given up to the one, that had been bravely defended againſt the other. A point of ſo much conſequence was haſtily decided, in a Parliament, aſſembled in the camp before Haddingtoun: the intrigues of the Queen Dowager, the zeal of the clergy, and reſentment againſt England, had prepared a great party in the nation for ſuch a ſtep; the French General and Ambaſſador, by their liberality and promiſes, gained over many more. The Regent himſelf was weak enough to ſtoop to the offer of a penſion from France, together with the title of Duke of Chatelherault in that kingdom. A conſiderable majority declared for the treaty, and the intereſt of a faction was preferred before the honour of the nation.

The treaty for that purpoſe concluded.

June 5, 1548.

HAVING hurried the Scots into this raſh and fatal reſolution, the ſource of many calamities to themſelves, and to their Sovereign, the French allowed them no time for reflection or repentance. The fleet, which had brought over their forces, was ſtill in Scotland, and without delay, convoyed the Queen into France. Mary was then ſix years old, and by her education in that court, the politeſt, but moſt corrupted in Europe, ſhe acquired every accompliſhment that could add to her charms as a woman, and contracted many of thoſe prejudices, which occaſioned her misfortunes as a Queen.

Mary ſent to be educated in France.

FROM the time that Mary was put into their hands, it was the intereſt of the French to ſuffer the war in Scotland to languiſh. The recovering of the Boulonnois was the object Henry had moſt at heart;

Book II. heart; and a ſlight diverſion in Britain was ſufficient to divide the attention and ſtrength of the Engliſh, whoſe domeſtic factions deprived both their arms and councils of their accuſtomed vigour. The government of England had undergone a great revolution. The Duke of Somerſet's power was acquired with too much violence, and exerciſed with too little moderation, to be of long continuance. Many good qualities, added to great love of his country, could not attone for his ambition in uſurping the ſole direction of affairs. Many of the moſt eminent courtiers combined againſt him; and the Earl of Warwick their leader, no leſs ambitious, but more artful than Somerſet, conducted his meaſures with ſo much dexterity, as to raiſe himſelf upon the ruins of his rival. Without the invidious name of Protector, he ſucceeded to all the power and influence, of which Somerſet was deprived, and he quickly found peace to be neceſſary for the eſtabliſhment of his new authority, and the execution of the vaſt deſigns he had conceived.

Peace concluded.

March 24, 1550.

HENRY was no ſtranger to Warwick's ſituation, and improved his knowledge of it to good purpoſe, in conducting the negociations for a general peace. He preſcribed what terms he pleaſed to the Engliſh Miniſter, who ſcrupled at nothing, however advantageous to that Monarch and his allies. England conſented to reſtore Boulogne and its dependencies to France, and gave up all pretenſions to a treaty of marriage with the Queen of Scots, or to the conqueſt of her country. A few ſmall forts, of which the Engliſh troops had hitherto kept poſſeſſion, were razed; and peace between the two kingdoms was eſtabliſhed on its ancient foundation.

BOTH the Britiſh nations loſt power, as well as reputation, by this unhappy quarrel. It was on both ſides a war of emulation and reſent-

reſentment, rather than of intereſt; and was carried on, under the influence of national animoſities, which were blind to all advantages. The French, who entered into it with greater coolneſs, conducted it with more ſkill; and by dexterouſly availing themſelves of every circumſtance which occurred, recovered poſſeſſion of an important territory which they had loſt, and added to their monarchy a new kingdom. The ambition of the Engliſh Miniſter betrayed to them the former; the inconſiderate rage of the Scots againſt their ancient enemies beſtowed on them the latter; their own addreſs and good policy merited both.

The Scots become jealous of the French.

IMMEDIATELY after the concluſion of the peace, the French forces left Scotland, as much to their own ſatisfaction, as to that of the nation. The Scots ſoon found, that the calling to their aſſiſtance a people more powerful than themſelves, was a dangerous expedient. They beheld, with the utmoſt impatience, thoſe who had come over to protect the kingdom, taking upon them to command in it; and on many occaſions they repented the raſh invitation they had given. The peculiar genius of the French nation heightened this diſguſt, and prepared the Scots to throw off the yoke, before they had well begun to feel it. The French were, in that age, what they are in the preſent, one of the moſt poliſhed nations in Europe. But it is to be obſerved, in all their expeditions into foreign countries, whether towards the ſouth or north, that their manners have been remarkably incompatible with the manners of every other people. Barbarians are tenacious of their own cuſtoms, becauſe they want knowledge and taſte to diſcover the reaſonableneſs and propriety of cuſtoms which differ from them. Nations, which hold the firſt rank in politeneſs, are frequently no leſs tenacious out of pride. The Greeks were ſo in the ancient world; and the French

Book II. French are the ſame in the modern. Full of themſelves, and accuſtomed, by the imitation of their neighbours, to conſider their own modes as the ſtandards of elegance, they ſcorn to diſguiſe, or to lay aſide the diſtinguiſhing manners of their own nation, or to make any allowance for what may differ from them among others. For this reaſon, the behaviour of their armies has, on every occaſion, been inſupportable to ſtrangers, and has always expoſed them to hatred, and often to deſtruction. In that age, they over-ran Italy four ſeveral times, by their valour, and loſt it, as often, by their inſolence. The Scots, naturally an iraſcible and high-ſpirited people, and who, of all nations, can leaſt bear the moſt diſtant inſinuation of contempt, were not of a temper to admit all the pretenſions of ſuch aſſuming gueſts. The ſymptoms of alienation were ſoon viſible; they ſeconded the French in their military operations with the utmoſt coldneſs, and this ſecret diſguſt grew inſenſibly to a degree of indignation that could hardly be reſtrained; and on occaſion of a very ſlight accident, broke out with fatal violence. A private French ſoldier had an idle quarrel with a citizen of Edinburgh: both nations took arms, with equal rage, in defence of their countrymen. The Provoſt of Edinburgh, his ſon, and ſeveral citizens of diſtinction were killed in the fray; and the French were obliged to avoid the fury of the inhabitants, by retiring out of the city. Notwithſtanding the ancient alliance of France and Scotland, and the long intercourſe of good offices between the two nations, an averſion for the French took its riſe at this time, among the Scots; the effects whereof were deeply felt, and operated powerfully through the ſubſequent period.

Progreſs of the Reformation. FROM the death of Cardinal Beatoun, nothing has been ſaid of the ſtate of religion. While the war with England continued, the clergy

clergy had no leiſure to moleſt the Proteſtants; and they were not yet conſiderable enough to expect any thing more than connivance and impunity. The new doctrines were ſtill in their infancy; but, during this ſhort interval of tranquillity, they acquired ſtrength, and advanced, by large and firm ſteps, towards a full eſtabliſhment in the kingdom. The firſt preachers againſt popery in Scotland, of whom ſeveral had appeared during the reign of James V. were more eminent for zeal and piety, than for learning. Their acquaintance with the principles of the Reformation was partial, and at ſecond hand; ſome of them had been educated in England; all of them had borrowed their notions from the books publiſhed there; and, in the firſt dawn of the new light, they did not venture many ſteps before their leaders. But, in a ſhort time, the doctrines and writings of the foreign Reformers became generally known; the inquiſitive genius of the age preſſed forward in queſt of truth the diſcovery of one error opened the way to others; the downfal of one impoſture drew many after it; the whole fabric, which ignorance and ſuperſtition had erected in times of darkneſs, began to totter; and nothing was wanting to compleat its ruin, but a daring and active leader to direct the attack. Such was the famous John Knox, who, with better qualifications of learning, and more extenſive views than any of his predeceſſors in Scotland, poſſeſſed a natural intrepidity of mind, which ſet him above fear. He began his public miniſtry at St. Andrew's in the year 1547, with that ſucceſs, which always accompanies a bold and popular eloquence. Inſtead of amuſing himſelf with lopping the branches, he ſtruck directly at the root of Popery, and attacked both the doctrine and diſcipline of the eſtabliſhed church, with a vehemence peculiar to himſelf, but admirably ſuited to the temper and wiſhes of the age.

Book II. An adverſary ſo formidable as Knox, would not have eaſily eſcaped the rage of the clergy, who obſerved the tendency and progreſs of his opinions, with the utmoſt concern. But, at firſt, he retired for ſafety into the caſtle of St. Andrew's, and while the conſpirators kept poſſeſſion of it, preached publickly under their protection. The great revolution in England, which followed upon the death of Henry VIII. contributed no leſs than the zeal of Knox, towards demoliſhing the Popiſh church in Scotland. Henry had looſened the chains, and lightened the yoke of Popery. The Miniſters of his ſon Edward VI. caſt them off altogether, and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant religion upon almoſt the ſame footing, whereon it now ſtands in that kingdom. The influence of this example reached Scotland, and the happy effects of eccleſiaſtical liberty, in the one nation, inſpired the other with an equal deſire of recovering it. The Reformers had, hitherto, been obliged to conduct themſelves with the utmoſt caution, and ſeldom ventured to preach, but in private houſes, and at a diſtance from court; they gained credit, as happens on the firſt publication of every new religion, chiefly among perſons in the lower and middle rank of life. But ſeveral noblemen of greateſt diſtinction, having, about this time, openly eſpouſed their principles, they were no longer under the neceſſity of acting with the ſame reſerve; and with more ſecurity and encouragement, they had likewiſe greater ſucceſs. The means of acquiring and ſpreading knowledge became more common, and the ſpirit of innovation, peculiar to that period, grew every day bolder and more univerſal.

Happily for the Reformation, this ſpirit was ſtill under ſome reſtraint. It had not yet attained firmneſs and vigour, ſufficient to overturn a ſyſtem, founded on the deepeſt policy, and ſupported by

by the moſt formidable power. Under the preſent circumſtances, any attempt towards action muſt have been fatal to the Proteſtant doctrines; and it is no ſmall proof of the authority, as well as peneration of the heads of the party, that they were able to reſtrain the zeal of a fiery and impetuous people, till that critical and mature juncture, when every ſtep they took was deciſive and ſucceſsful.

Meanwhile their cauſe received reinforcement from two different quarters, whence they never could have expected it. The ambition of the houſe of Guiſe, and the bigotry of Mary of England haſtened the ſubverſion of the Papal throne in Scotland; and by a ſingular diſpoſition of Providence, the perſons who oppoſed the Reformation in every other part of Europe with the fierceſt zeal, were made inſtruments for advancing it in that kingdom.

The Queen Dowager aſpires to the office of Regent.

Mary of Guiſe poſſeſſed the ſame bold and aſpiring ſpirit, which diſtinguiſhed her family. But in her it was ſoftened by the female character, and accompanied with greater temper and addreſs. Her brothers, in order to attain the high objects at which they aimed, ventured upon ſuch daring meaſures, as ſuited their great courage. Her deſigns upon the ſupreme power were concealed with the utmoſt care, and advanced by addreſs and refinements more natural to her ſex. By a dexterous application of thoſe talents, ſhe had acquired a conſiderable influence on the councils of a nation, hitherto unacquainted with the government of women; and without the ſmalleſt right to any ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs, had engroſſed the chief direction of them into her own hands. But ſhe did not long reſt ſatisfied with the enjoyment of this precarious power, which the fickleneſs of the Regent, or the ambition of thoſe who governed him, might ſo eaſily diſturb; and ſhe began to ſet

Book II. on foot new intrigues, with a deſign of undermining him, and of opening to herſelf a way to ſucceed him in that high dignity. Her brothers entered warmly into this ſcheme, and ſupported it with all their credit at the court of France. The French King willingly concurred in a meaſure, by which he hoped to bring Scotland entirely under management, and in any future broil with England, to turn its whole force upon that kingdom.

In order to arrive at the deſired elevation, the Queen Dowager had only one of two ways to chuſe; either violently to wreſt the power out of the hands of the Regent, or to obtain it by his conſent. Under a minority, and among a warlike and factious people, the former was a very uncertain and dangerous experiment. The latter appeared to be no leſs impracticable. To perſuade a man voluntarily to abdicate the ſupreme power; to deſcend to a level with thoſe, above whom he was raiſed; and to be content with the ſecond place where he hath held the firſt, may well paſs for a wild and chimerical project. This, however, the Queen attempted; and the prudence of the attempt was ſufficiently juſtified by its ſucceſs.

The Regent's inconſtancy and irreſolution, together with the calamities which had befallen the kingdom under his adminiſtration, raiſed the prejudices both of the nobles and of the people againſt him, to a great height; and the Queen ſecretly fomented theſe with much induſtry. All who wiſhed for a change met with a gracious reception in her court, and their ſpirit of diſaffection was nouriſhed by ſuch hopes and promiſes, as, in every age, impoſe on the credulity of the factious. The favourers of the Reformation being the moſt numerous and ſpreading body of the Regent's enemies, ſhe applied to them, with a particular attention; and the gentle-

Courts the Reformers.

gentleneſs of her diſpoſitions, and ſeeming indifference to the religious points in diſpute, made all her promiſes of protection and indulgence paſs upon them for ſincere. Finding ſo great a part of the nation willing to fall in with her meaſures, the Queen ſet out for France, under pretence of viſiting her daughter, and took along with her thoſe noblemen, who poſſeſſed the greateſt power and credit among their countrymen. Softened by the pleaſures of an elegant court, flattered by the civilities of the French King, and the careſſes of the houſe of Guiſe, and influenced by the ſeaſonable diſtribution of a few favours, and the liberal promiſe of many more, they were brought to approve of all the Queen's pretenſions. Oct. 1550.

While ſhe advanced by theſe ſlow but important ſteps, the Regent either did not foreſee the danger which threatened him, or neglected to provide againſt it. The firſt diſcovery of the train which was laid, came from two of his own confidents, Carnegie of Kinnaird, and Panter Biſhop of Roſs, whom the Queen had gained over to her intereſt, and then employed as the moſt proper inſtruments for obtaining his conſent. The overture was made to him in the name of the French King, enforced by proper threatenings, in order to work upon his natural timidity, and ſweetened by every promiſe that could reconcile him to a propoſal ſo diſagreeable. On the one hand, the confirmation of his French title, together with a conſiderable penſion, the parliamentary acknowledgment of his right of ſucceſſion to the Crown, and a public ratification of his conduct during his regency, were offered him. On the other hand, the diſpleaſure of the French King, the power and popularity of the Queen Dowager, the diſaffection of the nobles, with the danger of an after-reckoning, were repreſented in the ſtrongeſt colours.

Book II. It was not poſſible to agree to a propoſal ſo extraordinary and unexpected, without ſome previous ſtruggle; and had the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's been preſent to fortify the irreſolute and paſſive ſpirit of the Regent, he would, in all probability, have rejected it with diſdain. Happily for the Queen, the ſagacity and ambition of that Prelate could, at this time, be no obſtruction to her views. He was lying at the point of death, and in his abſence, the influence of the Queen's agents on a flexible temper counterballanced ſeveral of the ſtrongeſt paſſions in the human mind, and obtained his conſent to a voluntary ſurrender of the ſupreme power.

Dec. 1551. After gaining a point of ſuch difficulty, with ſo much eaſe, the Queen returned into Scotland, in full expectation of taking immediate poſſeſſion of her new dignity. But, by this time, the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's had recovered of that diſtemper, which the ignorance of the Scottiſh phyſicians had pronounced to be incurable. This he owed to the aſſiſtance of the famous Cardan, one of thoſe irregular adventurers in philoſophy, of whom Italy produced ſo many about this period. A bold genius led him to ſome uſeful diſcoveries, which merit the eſteem of a more diſcerning age; a wild imagination engaged him in thoſe chimerical ſciences, which drew the admiration of his cotemporaries. As a pretender to aſtrology and magic, he was revered and conſulted by all Europe; as a proficient in natural philoſophy, he was but little known. The Archbiſhop, it is probable, conſidered him as a powerful magician, when he applied to him for relief; but it was his knowledge as a philoſopher, which enabled him to cure his diſeaſe *.

* Cardan himſelf was more deſirous of being conſidered as an Aſtrologer than a Philoſopher; in his book *De Genituris*, we find a calculation of the Archbiſhop's nativity, from which he pretends both to have predicted his diſeaſe, and to have effected his cure. He received, from the Archbiſhop, a reward of 1800 crowns. A great ſum in that age. *De Vita ſua*, p. 32.

Tog-

TOGETHER with his health, the Archbiſhop recovered the entire government of the Regent, and quickly determined him to recal that diſhonourable promiſe, which he had been ſeduced by the artifices of the Queen to grant. However great her ſurprize and indignation were, at this freſh inſtance of his inconſtancy, ſhe was obliged to diſſemble, that ſhe might have leiſure to renew her intrigues with all parties; with the Proteſtants, whom ſhe favoured and courted more than ever; with the nobles, to whom ſhe rendered herſelf agreeable by various arts; and with the Regent himſelf, in order to gain whom, ſhe employed every argument. But whatever impreſſions her emiſſaries might have made on the Regent, it was no eaſy matter to over-reach or to intimidate the Archbiſhop. Under his management, the negociations were ſpun out to a great length, and his brother maintained his ſtation with that addreſs and firmneſs, which its importance ſo well merited. The univerſal defection of the nobility, the growing power of the Proteſtants, who all adhered to the Queen Dowager, the reiterated ſolicitations of the French King, and, above all, the interpoſition of the young Queen, who was now entering the twelfth year of her age, and claimed a right of nominating whom ſhe pleaſed to be Regent, obliged him, at laſt, to reſign that high office, which he had held many years. He obtained, however, the ſame advantageous terms for himſelf, which had been formerly ſtipulated.

Prevails on the Regent to reſign his office.

IT was in the Parliament which met on the 10th of April, 1554, that the Earl of Arran executed this extraordinary reſignation; and at the ſame time Mary of Guiſe was raiſed to that dignity, which had been ſo long the object of her wiſhes. Thus, with their own approbation, a woman, and a ſtranger, was advanced to the ſupreme authority over a fierce and turbulent people, who ſeldom ſubmit-

She obtains the Regency.

ted,

Book II. ted, without reluctance, to the legal and ancient government of their native Monarchs.

Reformation continues to make great progress.

While the Queen Dowager of Scotland contributed ſo much towards the progreſs of the Reformation, by the protection which ſhe afforded it, from motives of ambition; the Engliſh Queen, by her indiſcreet zeal, filled the kingdom with perſons active in promoting the ſame cauſe. Mary aſcended the throne of England, on the death of her brother Edward, and ſoon after married Philip II. of Spain. To the perſecuting ſpirit of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and the fierceneſs of that age, ſhe added the private reſentment of her own, and of her mother's ſufferings, with which ſhe loaded the Reformed Religion; and the peeviſhneſs and ſeverity of her natural temper carried the acrimony of all theſe paſſions to the utmoſt extreme. The cruelty of her perſecution equalled the deeds of thoſe tyrants, who have been the greateſt reproach to human nature. The bigotry of her clergy could ſcarce keep pace with the impetuoſity of her zeal. Even the unrelenting Philip was obliged, on ſome occaſions, to mitigate the rigour of her proceedings. Many among the moſt eminent Reformers ſuffered for the doctrines which they had taught; others fled from the ſtorm. To the greater part of theſe, Switzerland and Germany opened a ſecure aſylum; and not a few, out of choice or neceſſity, fled into Scotland. What they had ſeen and felt in England, did not abate the warmth and zeal of their indignation againſt Popery. Their attacks were bolder and more ſucceſsful than ever; and their doctrines made a rapid progreſs among all ranks of men.

July 6, 1553.

These doctrines, calculated to rectify the opinions, and to reform the manners of mankind, had hitherto produced no other effects; but

but they ſoon began to operate with greater violence, and proved the occaſion, not only of ſubverting the eſtabliſhed religion, but of ſhaking the throne, and endangering the kingdom. The cauſes which facilitated the introduction of theſe new opinions into Scotland, and which diſſeminated them ſo faſt through the nation, merit, on that account, a particular and careful inquiry. The Reformation is one of the greateſt events in the hiſtory of mankind, and in whatever point of light we view it, is inſtructive and intereſting.

A view of the politicalcauſes which contributed towards that.

THE revival of learning in the 15th and 16th centuries rouzed the world from that lethargy, in which it had been ſunk for many ages. The human mind felt its own ſtrength, broke the fetters of authority by which it had been ſo long reſtrained, and venturing to move in a larger ſphere, puſhed its inquiries into every ſubject, with great boldneſs, and ſurpriſing ſucceſs.

No ſooner did mankind recover the capacity of exerciſing their reaſon, than religion was one of the firſt objects which drew their attention. Long before Luther publiſhed his famous Theſes, which ſhook the Papal throne, ſcience and philoſophy had laid open, to many of the Italians, the impoſture and abſurdity of the eſtabliſhed ſuperſtition. That ſubtle and refining people, ſatisfied with enjoying thoſe diſcoveries in ſecret, were little diſpoſed to aſſume the dangerous character of Reformers, and concluded the knowledge of truth to be the prerogative of the wiſe, while vulgar minds muſt be overawed and governed by popular errors. But, animated with a more noble and diſintereſted zeal, the German Theologian boldly erected the ſtandard of truth, and upheld it with an unconquerable intrepidity, which merits the admiration and gratitude of all ſucceeding ages.

THE

Book II. THE occaſion of Luther's being firſt diſguſted with the tenets of the Romiſh church, and how, from a ſmall rupture, the quarrel widened into an irreparable breach, is known to every one who has been the leaſt converſant in hiſtory. From the heart of Germany, his opinions ſpread, with aſtoniſhing rapidity, all over Europe; and wherever they came, endangered or overturned the ancient, but ill-founded ſyſtem. The vigilance and addreſs of the court of Rome, and the power and bigotry of the Auſtrian family, ſuppreſſed theſe notions on their firſt appearance, in the ſouthern kingdoms of Europe. But the fierce ſpirit of the north, irritated by multiplied impoſitions, could neither be mollified by the ſame arts, nor ſubdued by the ſame force; and encouraged by ſome Princes from piety, and by others out of avarice, it eaſily bore down the feeble oppoſition of an illiterate and immoral clergy.

THE ſuperſtition of Popery ſeems to have grown to the moſt extravagant height, in thoſe countries which are ſituated towards the different extremities of Europe. The vigour of imagination, and ſenſibility of frame, peculiar to the inhabitants of ſouthern climates, rendered them ſuſceptible of the deepeſt impreſſions of ſuperſtitious terror and credulity. Ignorance and barbarity were no leſs favourable to the progreſs of the ſame ſpirit, among the northern nations. They knew little, and were diſpoſed to believe every thing. The moſt glaring abſurdities did not ſhock their groſs underſtandings, and the moſt improbable fictions were received with implicit aſſent and admiration.

ACCORDINGLY, that form of Popery, which prevailed in Scotland, was of the moſt bigotted and illiberal kind. Thoſe doctrines which are moſt apt to ſhock the human underſtanding, and thoſe legends

legends which fartheſt exceed belief, were propoſed to the people without any attempt to palliate or diſguiſe them; nor did they ever call in queſtion the reaſonableneſs of the one, or the truth of the other. BOOK II.

THE power and wealth of the church kept pace with the progreſs of ſuperſtition; for it is the nature of that ſpirit to obſerve no bounds in its reſpect and liberality towards thoſe, whoſe character it eſteems ſacred. The Scottiſh Kings early demonſtrated how much they were under its influence, by their vaſt additions to the immunities and riches of the clergy. The profuſe piety of David I. who acquired on that account the name of Saint, transferred almoſt the whole crown-lands, which were at that time of great extent, into the hands of eccleſiaſtics. The example of that virtuous Prince was imitated by his ſucceſſors. The ſpirit ſpread among all orders of men, who daily loaded the prieſthood with new poſſeſſions. The riches of the church all over Europe were exorbitant; but Scotland was one of thoſe countries, wherein they had fartheſt exceeded the juſt proportion. The Scottiſh clergy paid one half of every tax impoſed on land; and as there is no reaſon to think that, in that age, they would be loaded with any unequal ſhare of the burden, we may conclude, that, by the time of the Reformation, little leſs than one half of the property in the nation had fallen into the hands of a ſociety, which is always acquiring, and can never loſe.

THE nature, too, of a conſiderable part of their property extended their influence. Many eſtates, throughout the kingdom, held of the church; church-lands were let in leaſe at an eaſy rent, and were poſſeſſed by the younger ſons, and deſcendants of

BOOK II. the beſt families*. The connexion between *ſuperior* and *vaſſal*, between landlord and tenant, created dependencies, and gave riſe to an union of great advantage to the church; and in eſtimating the influence of the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics over the nation, theſe, as well as the real amount of their revenues, muſt be attended to, and taken into the account.

THIS extraordinary ſhare in the national property was accompanied with proportionable weight in the ſupreme council of the kingdom. At a time, when the number of temporal Peers was extremely ſmall, and when the Leſſer Barons and repreſentatives of Burroughs ſeldom attended Parliaments, the Eccleſiaſtics formed a conſiderable body there. And it appears from the ancient rolls of Parliament, and from the manner of chuſing the Lords of Articles, that the proceedings of that high court muſt have been, in a great meaſure, under their direction†.

THE reverence due to their ſacred character, which was often carried incredibly far, contributed not a little towards the growth of their power. The dignity, the titles, and precedence of the Popiſh clergy are remarkable, both as cauſes and effects of that dominion, which they had acquired over the reſt of mankind. They were regarded by the credulous laity as beings of a ſuperior ſpecies; they were neither ſubject to the ſame laws, nor tried by the ſame judges. Every guard, that religion could ſupply, was placed around their power, their poſſeſſions, and their perſons; and endeavours were uſed, not without ſucceſs, to repreſent them all as equally ſacred.

* Keith, 521. Not. (b). † Spotſ. Hiſt. of the Ch. of Scot. 449.

THE reputation for learning, which, however inconſiderable, was wholly engroſſed by the clergy, added to the reverence which they derived from religion. The principles of ſound philoſophy, and of a juſt taſte, were altogether unknown; in place of theſe, were ſubſtituted ſtudies, barbarous and uninſtructive; but as the eccleſiaſtics alone were converſant in them, this procured them eſteem; and a very little knowledge drew the admiration of rude ages, which knew nothing. War was the ſole profeſſion of the nobles, and hunting their chief amuſement; they divided their time between theſe; unacquainted with the arts, and unimproved by ſcience, they diſdained any employment foreign from military affairs, or which required rather penetration and addreſs, than bodily vigour. Wherever the former were neceſſary, the clergy were entruſted; becauſe they alone were properly qualified for the truſt. Almoſt all the high offices in civil government devolved, on this account, into their hands. The Lord Chancellor was the firſt ſubject in the kingdom, both in dignity and in power. From the earlieſt ages of the monarchy, to the death of Cardinal Beatoun, fifty-four perſons had held that high office; and of theſe, forty-three had been eccleſiaſtics*. The Lords of Seſſion were ſupreme Judges in all matters of civil right; and by the original conſtitution, the Preſident and one half of the Senators in this court were churchmen.

To all this we may add, that the clergy being ſeparated from the reſt of mankind by the law of celibacy; and undiſtracted by thoſe cares, and unincumbered with thoſe burdens which occupy and oppreſs other men, the intereſt of their order became their only object, and they were at full leiſure to purſue it.

* Crawf. Offic. of State.

Book II.

THE nature of their function gave them access to all persons, and at all seasons. They could employ all the motives of fear and of hope, of terror and of consolation, which operate most powerfully on the human mind. They haunted the weak and the credulous; they besieged the beds of the sick and of the dying. They suffered few to go out of the world without leaving marks of their liberality to the church; and taught them to compound with the Almighty for their sins, by bestowing riches upon those, who called themselves his servants.

WHEN their own industry, or the superstition of mankind failed of producing this effect, they had influence enough to call in the aid of law. Whoever died *intestate*, was presumed to have destined his moveables to pious uses. The church took possession of them. The children, the wife, the creditors of the person deceased were often excluded from any share in what was esteemed a sacred property*. As men are apt to trust to the continuance of life with foolish confidence, and childishly shun every thing, that forces them to think of their mortality, many die without settling their affairs by will; and the bold usurpation of ecclesiastics in this case, of which there are frequent vestiges in our laws, though none in our historians, may be reckoned among the most plentiful sources of the wealth of the church.

AT the same time, no matrimonial or testamentary cause could be tried but in the spiritual courts, and by laws which the clergy themselves had framed. The penalty, too, by which the decisions of these courts were enforced, added to their authority. A sentence

* Essays on Brit. Antiq. 174.

of

of excommunication was no leſs formidable, than a ſentence of out-lawry. It was pronounced on many occaſions, and againſt various crimes: and beſides excluding thoſe, upon whom it fell, from Chriſtian privileges, it deprived them of all their rights as men, or as citizens. And the aid of the ſecular power concurred with the ſuperſtition of mankind, in rendering the thunders of the church no leſs deſtructive than terrible.

To theſe general cauſes, may be attributed the immenſe growth both of the wealth, and power of the Popiſh church; and without entering into any more minute detail, this may ſerve to diſcover the foundations, on which a ſtructure ſo ſtupendous was erected.

BUT though the laity had contributed, by their own ſuperſtition and profuſeneſs, to raiſe the clergy from poverty and contempt to riches and dignity, they began, by degrees, to feel and to murmur at their incroachments. No wonder haughty and martial Barons ſhould view the power and poſſeſſions of the church with envy; and regard the lazy and inactive character of churchmen with the utmoſt contempt. While, at the ſame time, the indecent and licentious lives of the clergy gave great and juſt offence to the people, and conſiderably abated the veneration, which they were accuſtomed to yield to that order of men.

IMMENCE wealth, extreme indolence, groſs ignorance, and, above all, the ſevere injunction of celibacy, had concurred to introduce this corruption of morals among the clergy; who, preſuming too much upon the ſubmiſſion of the people, were at no pains either to conceal, or to diſguiſe their own vices. According to the accounts of the Reformers, confirmed by ſeveral Popiſh writers, the moſt

Book II. open and ſcandalous diſſolution of manners prevailed among the Scottiſh clergy *. Cardinal Beatoun, with the ſame public pomp, which is due to a legitimate child, celebrated the marriage of his natural daughter with the Earl of Crawfurd's ſon †; and, if we may believe Knox, he publickly continued to the end of his days a criminal correſpondence with her mother, who was a woman of rank. The other prelates ſeem not to have been more regular and exemplary than their Primate ‖.

Men of ſuch characters ought, in reaſon, to have been alarmed at the firſt clamours raiſed againſt their own morals, and the doctrines of the church, by the Proteſtant preachers; but the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, either out of pride or ignorance, neglected the proper methods for ſilencing them. Inſtead of reforming their lives, or diſguiſing their vices, they affected to deſpiſe the cenſures of the people. And while the Reformers, by their mortifications and auſterities, endeavoured to reſemble the firſt propagators of Chriſtianity, the Popiſh clergy were compared to all thoſe perſons, who

* Winzet. ap. Keith Append. 202, 205. Leſl. de Reb. Geſt. Scot. 232.

† The marriage articles ſubſcribed with his own hand, in which he calls her *my daughter*, are ſtill extant. Keith, p. 42.

‖ A remarkable proof of the diſſolute manners of the clergy is found in the public records. A greater number of letters of *legitimation* was granted during the firſt thirty years after the Reformation, than during the whole period, that has elapſed ſince that time. Theſe were obtained by the ſons of the Popiſh clergy. The eccleſiaſtics, who were allowed to retain their benefices, alienated them to their children; who, when they acquired wealth, were deſirous that the ſtain of illegitimacy might no longer remain upon their families. In *Keith's Catalogue of the Scottiſh Biſhops*, we find ſeveral inſtances of ſuch alienations of church lands, by the Popiſh incumbents, to their natural children.

are

are moſt infamous, in hiſtory, for the enormity and ſcandal of their crimes.

On the other hand, inſtead of mitigating the rigour, or colouring over the abſurdity of the eſtabliſhed doctrines; inſtead of attempting to found them upon ſcripture, or to reconcile them to reaſon; they left them without any other ſupport or recommendation, than the authority of the church, and the decrees of councils. The fables concerning purgatory, the virtues of pilgrimage, and the merits of the ſaints, were the topics, on which they inſiſted in their diſcourſes to the people; and the duty of preaching being left wholly to Monks of the loweſt and moſt illiterate orders, their compoſitions were ſtill more wretched and contemptible, than the ſubjects on which they inſiſted. While the Reformers were attended by crowded and admiring audiences, the Popiſh preachers were either univerſally deſerted, or liſtened to with ſcorn.

The only device which they employed in order to recover their declining reputation, or to confirm the wavering faith of the people, was equally imprudent, and unſucceſsful. As many doctrines of their church had derived their credit, at firſt, from the authority of falſe miracles, they now endeavoured to call in theſe to their aid *. But thoſe lying wonders, which were beheld with unſuſpicious admiration, or heard with implicit faith, in times of darkneſs and of ignorance, met with a very different reception, in a more enlightened period. The vigilance of the Reformers detected theſe impoſtures, and expoſed not only them, but the cauſe, which needed the aid of ſuch artifices, to ridicule.

* Spotſwood, 69.

Book II. As the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics became more and more the objects of hatred and of contempt, the diſcourſes of the Reformers were liſtened to as ſo many calls to liberty; and beſides the pious indignation which they excited againſt thoſe corrupt doctrines, whch had perverted the nature of true Chriſtianity; beſides the zeal, which they inſpired for the knowledge of truth, and the purity of religion; they gave riſe alſo, among the Scottiſh nobles, to other views and paſſions. They hoped to ſhake off the yoke of eccleſiaſtical dominion, which they had long felt to be oppreſſive, and which they now diſcovered to be unchriſtian. They expected to recover poſſeſſion of the church revenues, which they were now taught to conſider as alienations made by their anceſtors, with a profuſion no leſs undiſcerning, than unbounded. They flattered themſelves that a check would be given to the pride and luxury of the clergy, who would be obliged, henceforward, to confine themſelves within the ſphere, peculiar to their ſacred character. An averſion for the eſtabliſhed church, which flowed from ſo many concurring cauſes, which was raiſed by conſiderations of religion, and heightened by motives of policy, ſpread faſt through the nation, and excited a ſpirit, that burſt out, at laſt, with irreſiſtible violence.

Religious conſiderations, alone, were ſufficient to have rouzed this ſpirit. The points in controverſy with the church of Rome were of ſo much importance to the happineſs of mankind, and ſo eſſential to Chriſtianity, that they merited all the zeal with which the Reformers contended in order to eſtabliſh them. But the Reformation having been repreſented as the effect of ſome wild and enthuſiaſtic frenzy in the human mind, this attempt to account for the eagerneſs and zeal, with which our anceſtors embraced and propagated the Proteſtant doctrines, by taking a view of the

the political motives, alone, which influenced them, and by ſhewing how naturally theſe prompted them to act with ſo much ardor, will not, perhaps, be eſteemed an unneceſſary digreſſion. We now return to the courſe of the hiſtory.

1554. The Queen's elevation to the office of Regent ſeems to have tranſported her, at firſt, beyond the known prudence, and moderation of her character. She began her adminiſtration, by conferring upon foreigners ſeveral offices of truſt and of dignity; a ſtep, which both from the inability of ſtrangers to diſcharge theſe offices with vigour, and from the envy which their preferment excites among the natives, is never attended with good conſequences. Vilmort was made Comptroller, and entruſted with the management of the public revenues; Bonot was appointed Governor of Orkney; and Rubay honoured with the cuſtody of the Great Seal, and the title of Vice Chancellor *. It was with the utmoſt indignation, that the Scots beheld offices of the greateſt eminence and authority, dealt out among ſtrangers. By theſe promotions they conceived the Queen to have offered an inſult both to their underſtandings, and to their courage; to the former, by ſuppoſing them unfit for thoſe ſtations, which their anceſtors had filled with ſo much dignity; to the latter, by imagining that they were tame enough not to complain of an affront, which, in no former age, would have been tolerated with impunity.

The Queen Regent begins her adminiſtration with ſome unpopular meaſures.

While their minds were in this diſpoſition, an incident happened which inflamed their averſion for French councils to the higheſt degree. Ever ſince the famous conteſt between the houſes of Va-

* Leſly, de Reb. Geſt. Scot. 189.

Book II. lois and Plantagenet, the French had been accuſtomed to embarraſs the Engliſh, and to divide their ſtrength by the ſudden and formidable incurſions of their allies, the Scots. But, as theſe inroads were ſeldom attended with any real advantage to Scotland, and expoſed it to the dangerous reſentment of a powerful neighbour, the Scots began to grow leſs tractable than formerly, and ſcrupled, any longer, to ſerve an ambitious ally at the price of their own quiet and ſecurity. The change, too, which was daily introducing into the art of war, rendered the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh forces of leſs importance to the French Monarch. For theſe reaſons, Henry having reſolved upon a war with Philip II. and foreſeeing that the Queen of England would take part in her huſband's quarrel, was extremely ſolicitous to ſecure, in Scotland, the aſſiſtance of ſome troops, which would be more at his command than an undiſciplined army, led by chieftains who were almoſt independent. In proſecution of this deſign, but under pretence of relieving the nobles from the expence and danger of defending the borders, the Queen Regent

1555. propoſed, in Parliament, to regiſter the value of lands throughout the kingdom, to impoſe on them a ſmall tax, and to apply that revenue towards maintaining a body of regular troops, in conſtant pay. A fixed tax upon land, which the growing expence of government hath introduced into almoſt every part of Europe, was unknown, at that time, and ſeemed altogether inconſiſtent with the free and independent ſpirit of the feudal government. Nothing could be more ſhocking to a generous and brave nobility, than the entruſting, to mercenary hands, the defence of thoſe territories which had been acquired, or preſerved by the blood of their anceſtors. They received this propoſal with the utmoſt indignation. About 300 of the Leſſer Barons repaired in a body to the Queen Regent, and repreſented their ſenſe of the intended innovation, with that

manly and determined boldneſs, which is natural to a free people, in a martial age. Alarmed at a remonſtrance delivered in ſo firm a tone, and ſupported by ſuch formidable numbers, the Queen prudently abandoned a ſcheme, which ſhe found to be univerſally odious. As the Queen herſelf was known perfectly to underſtand the circumſtances and temper of the nation, this meaſure was imputed wholly to the ſuggeſtions of her foreign counſellors; and the Scots were ready to proceed to the moſt violent extremities againſt them.

Attempts to engage the kingdom in a war with England.

The French, inſtead of extinguiſhing, added fuel to the flame. They had now commenced hoſtilities againſt Spain, and Philip had prevailed on the Queen of England, to reinforce his army with a conſiderable body of her troops. In order to deprive him of this aid, Henry had recourſe, as he projected, to the Scots; and attempted to excite them to invade England. But, as Scotland had nothing to dread from a Princeſs of Mary's character, who, far from any ambitious ſcheme of diſturbing her neighbours, was wholly occupied in endeavouring to reclaim her heretical ſubjects; the nobles, who were aſſembled by the Queen Regent at Newbottle, liſtened to the ſolicitations of the French Monarch with extreme coldneſs, and prudently declined engaging the kingdom in an enterprize ſo dangerous and unneceſſary. What ſhe could not obtain by perſuaſion, the Queen Regent brought about by a ſtratagem. Notwithſtanding that peace ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms, ſhe commanded her French ſoldiers to rebuild a ſmall fort near Berwick, which was appointed, by the laſt treaty, to be razed. The garriſon of Berwick ſallied out; interrupted the work; and ravaged the adjacent country. This inſult rouzed the fiery ſpirit of the Scots, and their promptneſs to revenge the leaſt appearance of na-

Book II. tional injury diſſipated, in a moment, the wiſe and pacific reſolutions which they had ſo lately formed. War was determined, and orders inſtantly given for raiſing a numerous army. But before their forces could aſſemble, the ardor of their indignation had time to cool, and the Engliſh having diſcovered no intention to puſh the war with vigour, the nobles reſumed their pacific ſyſtem, and reſolved to ſtand altogether upon the defenſive. They marched to
1556. the banks of the Tweed, they prevented the incurſions of the enemy, and having done what they thought ſufficient for the ſafety and honour of their country, the Queen could not induce them, either by her intreaties, or her artifices, to advance another ſtep.

While the Scots perſiſted in their inactivity, D'Oyſel, the Commander of the French troops, who poſſeſſed entirely the confidence of the Queen Regent, endeavoured, with her connivance, to engage the two nations in hoſtilities. Contrary to the orders of the Scottiſh General, he marched over the Tweed with his own ſoldiers, and inveſted Werk, a garriſon of the Engliſh. The Scots, inſtead of ſeconding his attempt, were enraged at his preſumption. The Queen's partiality towards France had long been ſuſpected; but it was now viſible that ſhe wantonly ſacrificed the peace and ſafety of Scotland, to the intereſt of that ambitious and aſſuming ally. Under the feudal governments, it was in camps, that ſubjects were accuſtomed to addreſs the boldeſt remonſtrances to their Sovereigns. While arms were in their hands, they felt their own ſtrength; and at that time all their repreſentations of grievances carried the authority of commands. On this occaſion, the indignation of the nobles broke out with ſuch violence, that the Queen perceiving all attempts to engage them in action to be vain, abruptly diſmiſſed her army, and retired with the utmoſt ſhame and diſguſt; having diſcovered the impo-

impotence of her own authority, without effecting any thing which could be of advantage to France.

It is obſervable, that this firſt inſtance of contempt for the Regent's authority can, in no degree, be imputed to the influence of the new opinions in religion. As the Queen's pretenſions to the Regency had been principally ſupported by thoſe who favoured the Reformation, and as ſhe ſtill needed them for a counterpoiſe to the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and the partizans of the houſe of Hamilton; they were now treated by her with great reſpect, and even admitted to no inconſiderable ſhare in her favour and confidence. Kirkaldy of Grange, and the other ſurviving conſpirators againſt Cardinal Beatoun were, about this time, recalled by her from baniſhment; and, through her connivance, the Proteſtant preachers enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, which was of great advantage to their cauſe. Soothed by theſe inſtances of the Queen's moderation and humanity, the Proteſtants left to others the office of remonſtrating; and the leaders of the oppoſite faction ſet them the firſt example of diſputing the will of their Sovereign.

The Queen's marriage with the Dauphin.

As the Queen Regent felt how limited and precarious her authority was, while it depended on the poiſe of theſe contrary factions, ſhe endeavoured to eſtabliſh it on a broader and more ſecure foundation, by haſtening the concluſion of her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin. Amiable as the Queen of Scots then was, in the bloom of youth; and conſiderable as the territories were, which ſhe would have added to the French monarchy; there did not want reaſons to diſſuade Henry from compleating his firſt plan of marrying her to his ſon. The Conſtable Montmorency employed all his intereſt to defeat an alliance, which reflected ſo much luſtre on the

Book II. the Princes of Lorrain. He repreſented the impoſſibility of maintaining order and tranquillity among a turbulent people, during the abſence of their Sovereign; and for that reaſon, adviſed Henry to beſtow the young Queen upon one of the Princes of the blood, who, by reſiding in Scotland, might preſerve that kingdom an uſeful ally to France, which, by a nearer union to the Crown, would become a mutinous and ungovernable province *. But, at this time, the Conſtable was a priſoner in the hands of the Spaniards, and the Princes of Lorrain were at the height of their glory; and their influence, ſeconded by the charms of the young Queen, triumphed over the prudent, but envious remonſtrances of their rival.

Dec. 14, 1557. THE French King accordingly applied to the Parliament of Scotland, which appointed eight of its members † to repreſent the whole body of the nation, at the marriage of the Queen. Among the perſons on whom the public choice conferred this honourable character, were ſome of the moſt avowed and zealous advocates for the Reformation; by which, may be eſtimated the degree of reſpect and popularity, which that party had now attained in the kingdom. The inſtructions of the Parliament to thoſe Commiſſioners ſtill remain ‡, and do honour to the wiſdom and integrity of that aſſembly. At the ſame time that they manifeſted a laudable concern for the dignity and intereſt of their Sovereign, with reſpect to the articles of marriage, they employed every precaution which prudence could dictate, for preſerving the liberty and inde-

* Melv. Mem. 15.

† Viz. The Archbiſhop of Glaſgow, the Biſhop of Roſs, the Biſhop of Orkney, the Earls of Rothes and Caſſils, Lord Fleeming, Lord Seton, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and John Erſkine of Dun.

‡ Keith, Append. 13.

pendance

pendance of the nation, and for ſecuring the ſucceſſion of the Crown in the houſe of Hamilton.

With regard to each of theſe, the Scots obtained whatever ſatisfaction their fear or jealouſy could demand. The young Queen, the Dauphin, and the King of France ratified every article, with the moſt ſolemn oaths, and confirmed them by deeds in form, under their hands and ſeals. But on the part of France, all this was one continued ſcene of ſtudied and elaborate deceit. Previous to theſe public tranſactions with the Scottiſh deputies, Mary had been perſuaded to ſubſcribe privately three deeds, equally unjuſt, and invalid; by which, failing the heirs of her own body, ſhe conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or ſucceſſion might accrue to it, in free gift upon the Crown of France, declaring all promiſes to the contrary, which the neceſſity of her affairs, and the ſollicitations of her ſubjects had extorted, or might extort from her, to be void and of no obligation *. As it gives us a proper idea of the character of the French court under Henry II. we may obſerve that the King himſelf, the Keeper of the Great Seals, the Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, were the perſons engaged in conducting this perfidious and diſhonourable project. The Queen of Scots was the only innocent actor in that ſcene of iniquity. Her youth, her inexperience, her education in a foreign country, and her deference to her uncles will, vindicate her, with every impartial perſon, from any imputation of blame on that account.

Artifices of the French in the marriage treaty.

This grant, by which Mary beſtowed the inheritance of her kingdom upon ſtrangers, was concealed with the utmoſt care from

* Corps Diplomat. tom. v. 21. Keith, 73.

her

Book II. her ſubjects. They ſeem, however, not to have been unacquainted with the intention of the French to overturn the ſettlement of the ſucceſſion in favour of the Duke of Chatelherault. The zeal, with which the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's oppoſed all the meaſures of the Queen Regent, evidently proceeded from the fears and ſuſpicions of that prudent prelate, on this head *.

April 14, 1558. The marriage, however, was celebrated with great pomp; and the French, who had hitherto affected to draw a veil over their deſigns upon Scotland, began now to unfold their intentions without any diſguiſe. In the treaty of marriage, the deputies had agreed that the Dauphin ſhould aſſume the name of King of Scotland. This they conſidered only as an honorary title; but the French laboured to annex to it ſome ſolid privileges and power. They inſiſted that the Dauphin's title ſhould be publicly recognized; that the *Crown Matrimonial* ſhould be conferred upon him; and that all the rights pertaining to the huſband of a Queen ſhould be veſted in his perſon. By the laws of Scotland, a perſon who married an heireſs kept poſſeſſion of her eſtate during his own life, if he happened to ſurvive her and the children born of the marriage †. This was called the *courteſy of Scotland*. The French aimed at applying this rule, which takes place in private inheritances, to the ſucceſſion of the kingdom; and that ſeems to be implied in their demand of the *Crown Matrimonial*, a phraſe peculiar to the Scottiſh hiſtorians, and which they have neglected to explain. As the French had reaſon to expect difficulties in carry-

* About this time, the French ſeem to have had ſome deſign of reviving the Earl of Lennox's pretenſions to the Succeſſion, in order to intimidate and alarm the Duke of Chatelherault. Haynes, 215, 219. Forbes Collect. vol. i. 189.

† Reg. Maj. lib. ii. 58.

ing

ing through this meaſure, they began with ſounding the deputies who were then at Paris. The Engliſh, in the marriage articles between their Queen and Philip of Spain, had ſet an example to the age, of that prudent jealouſy and reſerve, with which a foreigner ſhould be admitted ſo near the throne. Full of the ſame ideas, the Scottiſh deputies had, in their oath of allegiance to the Dauphin, expreſſed themſelves with remarkable caution *. Their anſwer was in the ſame ſpirit, reſpectful, but firm; and diſcovered a fixed reſolution of conſenting to nothing, that tended to introduce any alteration in the order of ſucceſſion to the Crown. BOOK II.

FOUR of the deputies † happening to die before they returned into Scotland, this accident was univerſally imputed to the effects of poiſon, which was ſuppoſed to have been given them by the emiſſaries of the houſe of Guiſe. The hiſtorians of all nations diſcover an amazing credulity with reſpect to ſtories of this kind, which are ſo well calculated to pleaſe the malignity of ſome men, and to gratify the love of the marvellous which is natural to all, that, in every age, they have been ſwallowed without examination, and believed contrary to reaſon. No wonder the Scots ſhould eaſily give credit to a ſuſpicion, which received ſuch ſtrong colours of probability, both from their own reſentment, and from the known character of the Princes of Lorrain, ſo little ſcrupulous about the juſtice of the ends which they purſued, or of the means which they employed. For the honour of human nature, it muſt, however, be obſerved, that as we can diſcover no motive, which could induce any man to perpetrate ſuch a crime, ſo there appears no evidence to prove that it was committed. But the Scots of that age, influenced by national animoſities and prejudices, were inca-

* Keith, Append. 20.

† The Biſhop of Orkney, the Earl of Rothes, the Earl of Caſſils, and Lord Fleming.

Book II. pable of examining the circumſtances of the caſe with calmneſs, or of judging concerning them with candour. All parties agreed in believing the French to have been guilty of this deteſtable action; and it is obvious how much this tended to increaſe the averſion for them, which was growing among all ranks of men.

The Regent prevails on the Parliament to grant it. Novem. 29.

NOTWITHSTANDING the cold reception which their propoſal concerning the *Crown Matrimonial* met with from the Scottiſh deputies, the French ventured to move it in Parliament. The partizans of the houſe of Hamilton, ſuſpicious of their deſigns upon the ſucceſſion, oppoſed it with great zeal. But a party, which the feeble and unſteady conduct of their leader had brought under much diſreputation, was little able to withſtand the influence of France, and the addreſs of the Queen Regent, ſeconded, on this occaſion, by all the numerous adherents of the Reformation. Beſides, that artful Princeſs dreſſed out the French demands in a leſs offenſive garb, and threw in ſo many limitations, as ſeemed to render them of ſmall conſequence. Theſe either deceived the Scots, or removed their ſcruples; and in compliance to the Queen, they paſſed an act, conferring the *Crown Matrimonial* on the Dauphin; and, with the fondeſt credulity, truſted to the frail ſecurity of words and ſtatutes, againſt the dangerous encroachments of power *.

Continues to court the Proteſtants.

THE concurrence of the Proteſtants, with the Queen Regent, in promoting a meaſure ſo acceptable to France, while the Popiſh clergy, under the influence of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, oppoſed it with ſo much violence †, is one of thoſe ſingular circum-

* The Act of Parliament is worded with the utmoſt care, with a view to guard againſt any breach of the order of ſucceſſion. But the Duke, not relying on this alone, entered a ſolemn proteſtation to ſecure his own right, Keith, 76. It is plain, that he ſuſpected the French of having ſome intention to ſet aſide his right of ſucceſſion; and, indeed, if they had no deſign of that kind, the eagerneſs with which they urged their demand, was childiſh. † Melv. 47.

ſtances, in the conduct of parties, for which this period is ſo remarkable. It may be aſcribed, in ſome degree, to the dextrous management of the Queen, but chiefly to the moderation of thoſe who favoured the Reformation. The proteſtants were, by this time, almoſt equal to the Catholics both in power, and in number; and, conſcious of their own ſtrength, they ſubmitted with impatience to that tyrannical authority, with which the ancient laws armed the eccleſiaſtics againſt them. They longed to be exempted from this oppreſſive juriſdiction, and publicly to enjoy the liberty of profeſſing thoſe opinions, and of exerciſing that worſhip, which ſo great a part of the nation deemed to be founded in truth, and to be acceptable to the Deity. This indulgence, to which the whole weight of prieſtly authority was oppoſed, there were only two ways of obtaining. Either violence muſt extort it from the reluctant hand of their Sovereign, or by prudent compliances, they might expect it from her favour, or her gratitude. The former is an expedient for the redreſs of grievances, to which no nation has recourſe ſuddenly; and ſubjects ſeldom venture upon reſiſtance, which is their laſt remedy, but in caſes of extreme neceſſity. On this occaſion, the Reformers wiſely held the oppoſite courſe, and by their zeal in forwarding the Queen's deſigns, they hoped to merit her protection. This diſpoſition the Queen encouraged to the utmoſt, and amuſed them ſo artfully with many promiſes, and ſome conceſſions, that, by their aſſiſtance, ſhe ſurmounted in Parliament the force of a national, and perhaps a laudable jealouſy, which would, otherwiſe, have ſwayed with the greater number.

ANOTHER circumſtance contributed ſomewhat to acquire the Regent ſuch conſiderable influence in this Parliament. In Scotland, all the biſhoprics, and thoſe abbeys which conferred a title to a ſeat in Parliament, were in the gift of the Crown *. From the time of her

* See Book I.

Book II. acceſſion to the regency, the Queen had kept in her own hands almoſt all thoſe which became vacant, except ſuch as were, to the great diſguſt of the nation, beſtowed upon foreigners. Among theſe, her brother the Cardinal of Lorrain had obtained the abbeys of Kelſo and Melroſs, two of the moſt wealthy foundations in the kingdom *. By this conduct, ſhe thinned the eccleſiaſtical bench †, which was entirely under the influence of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and which, by its numbers and authority, had great weight in the houſe, ſo as to render any oppoſition it could give of little conſequence.

THE Earl of Argyll, and James Stewart Prior of St. Andrew's, one the moſt powerful, and the other the moſt popular leader of the Proteſtants, were appointed to carry the Crown and other enſigns of royalty to the Dauphin. But from this they were diverted by the part they were called to act, in a more intereſting ſcene, which now begins to open.

Elizabeth ſucceeds to the Crown of England.

BEFORE we turn towards this, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that, on the 17th of November, Mary of England finiſhed her ſhort, and inglorious reign. Her ſiſter Elizabeth took poſſeſſion of the throne without oppoſition; and the Proteſtant religion was, once more, eſtabliſhed by law in England. The acceſſion of a Queen, who, under very difficult circumſtances, had given ſtrong indications of thoſe eminent qualities, which, in the ſequel, rendered her reign ſo illuſtrious, attracted the eyes of all Europe. Among the Scots, both parties obſerved her firſt motions with the utmoſt concern, as they eaſily foreſaw that ſhe would not remain long an indifferent ſpectator of their tranſactions.

* Leſly, 202.

† It appears from the rolls of this Parliament, which Leſly calls a very full one, that only ſeven Biſhops and ſixteen Abbots were preſent.

UNDER

UNDER many diſcouragements, and much oppreſſion, the Reformation advanced towards a full eſtabliſhment in Scotland. All the low country, the moſt populous, and, at that time, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, was deeply tinctured with the Proteſtant opinions; and if the ſame impreſſions were not made in the more diſtant counties, it was owing to no want of the ſame diſpoſitions among the people, but to the ſcarcity of preachers, whoſe moſt indefatigable zeal could not ſatisfy the avidity of thoſe, who deſired their inſtructions. Among a people bred to arms, and ſo prone to mutiny as the Scots; and in an age, when religious paſſions had taken ſuch ſtrong poſſeſſion of the human mind, and moved and agitated it with ſo much violence; the peaceable and regular demeanour of ſo numerous a party is truly aſtoniſhing. From the death of Mr. Patrick Hamilton, the firſt who ſuffered in Scotland for the Proteſtant religion, thirty years had elapſed, and during ſo long a period, no violation of public order or tranquillity had proceeded from that ſect *; and though rouzed and irritated by the moſt cruel exceſſes of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, they did, in no inſtance, tranſgreſs thoſe bounds of duty which the law preſcribes to ſubjects. Beſides the prudence of their own leaders, and the protection which the Queen Regent, from political motives, afforded them, the moderation of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's encouraged this pacific diſpoſition. That Prelate, whoſe private life cotemporary writers tax with great irregularities †, governed the church, for ſome years, with a temper and prudence of which there are few examples in that age. But ſome time before the meeting of laſt Parliament, the Arch-

* The murder of Cardinal Beatoun was occaſioned by private revenge, and being contrived and executed by ſixteen perſons, cannot, with juſtice, be imputed to the whole Proteſtant party.

† Knox, Buchanan, Keith, 208.

biſhop

Book II. biſhop departed from thoſe humane maxims, by which he had hitherto regulated his conduct; and whether, in ſpite to the Queen, who had entered into ſo cloſe an union with the Proteſtants, or in compliance with the importunities of his clergy, he let looſe all the rage of perſecution againſt the Reformed; ſentenced to the flames an aged prieſt, who had been convicted of embracing the Proteſtant opinions; and ſummoned ſeveral others, ſuſpected of the ſame crime, to appear before a ſynod of the clergy, which was ſoon to convene at Edinburgh.

Nothing could equal the horror of the Proteſtants at this unexpected and barbarous execution, but the zeal, with which they eſpouſed the defence of a cauſe, that now ſeemed devoted to deſtruction. They had immediate recourſe to the Queen Regent; and as her ſucceſs in the Parliament, which was then about to meet, depended on their concurrence, ſhe not only ſheltered them from the impending ſtorm, but permitted them the exerciſe of their religion, with more freedom than they had hitherto enjoyed. Unſatisfied with this precarious tenure, by which they held their religious liberty, the Proteſtants laboured to render their poſſeſſion of it more ſecure and independent. With this view, they determined to petition the Parliament for ſome legal protection, againſt the exorbitant and oppreſſive juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts, which, by their arbitrary method of proceeding, founded in the canon law, were led to ſentences the moſt ſhocking to humanity, by maxims the moſt repugnant to juſtice. But the Queen, who dreaded the effects of a debate on this delicate ſubject, which could not fail of exciting high and dangerous paſſions, prevailed on the leaders of the party, by new and more ſolemn promiſes of her protection, to deſiſt from any application to Parliament, where their numbers

and

and influence would, in all probability, have procured them, if not the entire redreſs, at leaſt, ſome mitigation of their grievances. Book II.

They applied to another aſſembly, to a convocation of the Popiſh clergy, but with the ſame ill ſucceſs, which hath always attended every propoſal for Reformation, addreſſed to that order of men. To abandon uſurped power, to renounce lucrative error, is a ſacrifice, which the virtue of individuals has, on ſome occaſions, offered to truth; but from any ſociety of men, no ſuch effort can be expected. The corruption of a ſociety, recommended by common utility, and juſtified by univerſal practice, are viewed, by its members, without ſhame, or horror; and Reformation never proceeds from themſelves, but is always forced upon them by ſome foreign hand. Suitable to this unfeeling and inflexible ſpirit, was the behaviour of the convocation in the preſent conjuncture. All the demands of the Proteſtants were rejected with contempt; and the Popiſh clergy, far from endeavouring, by any prudent conceſſions, to ſooth and to reconcile ſuch a numerous body, aſſerted the doctrines of their church, concerning ſome of the moſt exceptionable articles, with an ill-timed rigour, which gave new offence *.

During the ſitting of the convocation, the Proteſtants firſt began to ſuſpect ſome change in the Regent's diſpoſition towards them. Though joined with them for many years, by intereſt, and united, as they conceived, by the ſtrongeſt ties of affection and of gratitude, ſhe diſcovered, on this occaſion, evident ſymptoms, not only of coldneſs, but of a growing diſguſt and averſion. In order to ac-

* Keith, 81.

count

Book II. 1559.

count for this, our hiſtorians do little more than produce the trite obſervations concerning the influence of proſperity to alter the character, and to corrupt the heart. The Queen, ſay they, having reached the utmoſt point to which her ambition aſpired, no longer preſerved her accuſtomed moderation, but, with an inſolence uſual to the fortunate, looked down upon thoſe, by whoſe aſſiſtance ſhe had been enabled to riſe ſo high. But it is neither in the depravity of the human heart, nor in the ingratitude of the Queen's diſpoſition, that we muſt ſearch for the motives of her preſent conduct. Theſe were derived from another, and a more remote ſource, which, in order to clear the ſubſequent tranſactions, we ſhall endeavour to open with ſome care.

Ambitious views of the Princes of Lorrain.

THE ambition of the Princes of Lorrain had been no leſs ſucceſsful, than daring; but all their ſchemes were diſtinguiſhed by being vaſt and unbounded. Strangers at the court of France, their eminent qualities had raiſed them, in a ſhort time, to an height of power, ſuperior to that of all other ſubjects, and had placed them on a level even with the Princes of the blood themſelves. The church, the army, the revenue, were under their direction. Nothing but the royal dignity remained unattained, and to a near alliance with it, they were elevated by the marriage of the Queen of Scots to the Dauphin. In order to gratify their own vanity, and to render their niece more worthy the heir of France, they ſet on foot her claim to the Crown of England, which was founded on pretences not unplauſible.

THE tragical amours and marriages of Henry VIII. are known to all the world. Moved by the caprices of his love, or of his reſentment, that impatient and arbitrary Monarch had divorced or beheaded

beheaded four of the ſix Queens, whom he married. In order to gratify him, both his daughters had been declared illegitimate by Act of Parliament; and yet, with that fantaſtic inconſiſtence which diſtinguiſhes his character, he, in his laſt will, whereby he was impowered to ſettle the order of ſucceſſion, called both of them to the throne, upon the death of their brother Edward; and, at the ſame time, paſſing by the poſterity of his eldeſt ſiſter Margaret Queen of Scotland, he appointed the line of ſucceſſion to continue in the deſcendents of his younger ſiſter, the Dutcheſs of Suffolk. BOOK II. 1559.

In conſequence of this deſtination, the validity whereof was admitted by the Engliſh, but never recognized by foreigners, Mary had reigned in England, without the leaſt complaint of neighbouring Princes. But the ſame cauſes, which facilitated her acceſſion to the throne, were obſtacles to the elevation of her ſiſter Elizabeth, and rendered her poſſeſſion of it precarious and inſecure. Rome trembled for the Catholic faith, under a Proteſtant Queen of ſuch eminent abilities. The ſame ſuperſtitious fears alarmed the court of Spain. And France beheld, with indignation, a throne, to which the Queen of Scots could form ſo many pretenſions, occupied by a rival, whoſe birth, in the opinion of all good Catholics, excluded her from any legal right of ſucceſſion. The impotent hatred of the Roman Pontiff, or the ſlow councils of Philip II. would have produced no ſudden or formidable effect. The ardent and impetuous ambition of the Princes of Lorrain, who, at that time, governed the court of France, was more deciſive, and more to be dreaded. Inſtigated by them, Henry, ſoon after the death of Mary, perſuaded his daughter-in-law and her huſband, to aſſume the title of King and Queen of England. They affected to publiſh this to all

They perſuade Mary to aſſume the title of Queen of England.

Book II. 1559. all Europe. They uſed that ſtyle and appellation in public papers, ſome of which ſtill remain *. The arms of England were engraved on their coin and plate, and born by them on all occaſions. No preparations, however, were made to ſupport this premature and impolitic claim. Elizabeth was already ſeated on her throne; ſhe poſſeſſed all the intrepidity of ſpirit, and all the arts of policy, which were neceſſary for maintaining that ſtation. England was growing into reputation for naval power. The marine of France had been utterly neglected; and Scotland remained the only avenue, by which the territories of Elizabeth could be approached. It was on that ſide, therefore, that the Princes of Lorrain determined to make their attack †; and, by uſing the name and pretenſions of the Scottiſh Queen, they hoped to rouze the Engliſh Catholics, formidable at that time for their zeal and numbers, and exaſperated to the utmoſt againſt Elizabeth, on account of the change which ſhe had made in the national religion.

Reſolve to invade England.

In order to this, neceſſary to check the Reformation in Scotland.

It was vain to expect the aſſiſtance of the Scottiſh Proteſtants to dethrone a Queen, whom all Europe eſteemed the guardian and defender of the reformed faith. To break the power and reputation of that party in Scotland, became, for this reaſon, a neceſſary ſtep towards the invaſion of England. With this the Princes of Lorrain reſolved to open their ſcheme. And as perſecution was the only method for ſuppreſſing religious opinions, known in that age, or dictated by the deſpotic and ſanguinary ſpirit of the Romiſh ſuperſtition, this, in its utmoſt violence, they determined to employ. The Earl of Argyll, the Prior of St. Andrew's, and other

* Anderſ. Diplom. Scot. No. 68 & 164.

† Forbes, Collect. i. 253. 277.

leaders

leaders of the party, were marked out by them for immediate deſtruction *; and they hoped, by puniſhing them, to intimidate their followers. Inſtructions for this purpoſe were ſent from France to the Queen Regent. That humane and ſagacious Princeſs condemned a meaſure, which was equally violent and impolitic. By long reſidence in Scotland, ſhe had become acquainted with the eager and impatient temper of the nation; ſhe well knew the power, the number, and popularity of the Proteſtant leaders; and had been a witneſs to the intrepid and unconquerable reſolution which religious fervour could inſpire. What, then, could be gained by rouzing this dangerous ſpirit, which, hitherto, all the arts of policy had ſcarce been able to reſtrain? If it once broke looſe, the authority of a Regent would be little capable to ſubdue, or even to moderate its rage. And if, in order to quell it, foreign forces were called in, this would give the alarm to the whole nation, irritated already at the exceſſive power which the French poſſeſſed in the kingdom, and ſuſpicious of all their deſigns. Amidſt the ſhock which this might occaſion, far from hoping to exterminate the Proteſtant doctrine, it would be well if the whole fabric of the eſtabliſhed church were not ſhaken, and perhaps overturned from the foundation. Theſe prudent remonſtrances made no impreſſion on her brothers; precipitant, but inflexible in all their reſolutions, they inſiſted on the full and rigorous execution of their plan. Mary, paſſionately devoted to the intereſts of France, and ready, on all occaſions, to ſacrifice her own opinions to the inclinations of her brothers, prepared to execute their commands, with implicit ſubmiſſion †; and, contrary

* Forbes i. 152.

† Mel. 48. Mem. de Caſtelnau. ap. Jebb. vol. ii. 446.

Book II. 1559. to her own judgment, and to all the rules of ſound policy, ſhe became the inſtrument of exciting civil commotions in Scotland, which ended with the ruin of the French power, and of the Popiſh religion in that kingdom.

The Regent alters her conduct with regard to the Proteſtants.

FROM the time of the Queen's competition for the Regency with the Duke of Chatelherault, the Popiſh clergy, under the direction of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, had ſet themſelves in oppoſition to all her meaſures. Her firſt ſtep towards the execution of her new ſcheme, was to regain their favour. Nor was this reconcilement a matter of difficulty. The Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, ſeparated from the reſt of mankind by the law of celibacy, the boldeſt and moſt ſucceſsful invention of human policy; and combined among themſelves in the cloſeſt and moſt ſacred union; have been accuſtomed, in every age, to ſacrifice all private and particular paſſions to the dignity and intereſt of their order. Delighted, on this occaſion, with the proſpect of triumphing over a faction, whoſe encroachments they had long dreaded; and animated with the hopes of re-eſtabliſhing their declining grandeur on a firmer baſis; they, at once, cancelled the memory of paſt injuries, and engaged to ſecond the Queen in all her attempts to check the progreſs of the Reformation. The Queen, being ſecure of their aſſiſtance, openly approved of the decrees of the convocation, by which the principles of the Reformers were condemned; and at the ſame time, ſhe iſſued a proclamation, enjoining all perſons to obſerve the approaching feſtival of Eaſter, according to the Romiſh ritual.

As it was no longer poſſible to miſtake the Queen's intentions, the Proteſtants, who ſaw the danger approach, in order to avert it, employed the Earl of Glencairn, and Sir Hugh Campbell of Loudon,

Loudon, to expoſtulate with her, concerning this change towards ſeverity, which their former ſervices had ſo little merited, and which her reiterated promiſes gave them no reaſon to expect. She, without diſguiſe or apology, avowed to them her reſolution of extirpating the Reformed religion out of the kingdom. And, upon their urging her former engagements, with an uncourtly, but honeſt boldneſs, ſhe ſo far forgot her uſual moderation, as to utter a ſentiment, which, however apt thoſe of royal condition may be to entertain it, prudence ſhould teach them to conceal with the utmoſt care. The promiſes of Princes, ſays ſhe, ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the performance of them exacted, unleſs it ſuits their own conveniency.

Summons their preachers to appear before her.

THE indignation, which betrayed the Queen into this raſh expreſſion, was nothing in compariſon of that, with which ſhe was animated, upon hearing that the public exerciſe of the Reformed religion had been introduced into the town of Perth. At once, ſhe threw off the maſk, and commanded all the Proteſtant preachers in the kingdom to be ſummoned to a court of juſtice, which was to be held at Stirling on the tenth of May. The Proteſtants, who, from their union, began, about this time, to be diſtinguiſhed by the name of the CONGREGATION, were alarmed, but not intimidated by this danger; and inſtantly reſolved not to abandon the men, to whom they were indebted for the moſt valuable of all bleſſings, the knowledge of truth. At that time, there prevailed in Scotland, with reſpect to criminal trials, a cuſtom, introduced, at firſt, by the inſtitutions of vaſſalage and clanſhip, and tolerated, afterwards, under a feeble government; any perſon accuſed of a crime was accompanied to the place of trial, by a retinue of his friends and adherents, aſſembled for that purpoſe, from every corner of the kingdom:

Book II. 1559. dom. Authorized by this ancient practice, the Reformed convened, in great numbers, to attend their paſtors to Stirling. The Queen dreaded their approach with a train ſo numerous, though unarmed, and in order to prevent them from advancing, ſhe empowered John Erſkine of Dun, a perſon of eminent authority with the party, to promiſe, in her name, that ſhe would put a ſtop to the intended trial, on condition, the preachers and their retinue advanced no nearer to Stirling. Erſkine, being convinced himſelf of the Queen's ſincerity, ſerved her with the utmoſt zeal. And the Proteſtants, averſe from proceeding to any act of violence, liſtened with pleaſure to ſo pacific a propoſition. The preachers, with a few leaders of the party, remained at Perth; the multitude, which had gathered from different parts of the kingdom, diſperſed, and retired to their own habitations.

Breaks a promiſe on which they had relied.

BUT, notwithſtanding this ſolemn promiſe, the Queen, on the tenth of May, proceeded to call to trial the perſons who had been ſummoned, and upon their non-appearance, the rigour of juſtice took place, and they were pronounced outlaws. By this ignoble artifice, ſo incompatible with regal dignity, and ſo inconſiſtent with that integrity which ſhould prevail in all tranſactions between a Sovereign and his people, the Queen forfeited the eſteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Proteſtants, ſhocked no leſs at the indecency, with which ſhe violated the public faith, than at the danger which threatened themſelves, prepared boldly for their own defence. Erſkine, enraged at having been made the inſtrument for deceiving his party, inſtantly abandoned Stirling, and repairing to Perth, added to the zeal of his aſſociates, by his repreſentations of the Queen's inflexible reſolution to ſuppreſs their religion.

1559.

THE popular rhetoric of Knox powerfully ſeconded his repreſentations. Knox, having been carried a priſoner into France, together with the other perſons taken in the caſtle of St. Andrew's, ſoon made his eſcape out of that country; and reſiding ſometimes in England, ſometimes in Scotland, had, at laſt, been driven out of both kingdoms by the rage of the Popiſh clergy, and was obliged to retire to Geneva. Thence he was called by the leaders of the Proteſtants in Scotland; and, in compliance with their ſolicitations, he ſet out for his native country, where he arrived a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling. He hurried inſtantly to Perth, to ſhare with his brethren in the common danger, or to aſſiſt them in promoting the common cauſe. While their minds were in that ferment, which the Queen's perfidiouſneſs and their own danger occaſioned, he mounted the pulpit, and by a vehement harangue againſt idolatry, inflamed the multitude with the utmoſt rage. The indiſcretion of a prieſt, who, immediately after Knox's ſermon, was preparing to celebrate maſs, and began to decorate the altar for that purpoſe, precipitated them into immediate action. With tumultuary, but irreſiſtible violence, they fell upon the churches in that city, overturned the altars, defaced the pictures, broke in pieces the images; and proceeding next to the monaſteries, they, in a few hours, laid thoſe ſumptuous fabrics almoſt level with the ground. This riotous inſurrection was not the effect of any concert, or previous deliberation: cenſured by the reformed preachers, and publickly condemned by the perſons of moſt power and credit with the party, it muſt be regarded merely as an accidental eruption of popular rage *.

This occaſions an inſurrection at Perth.

* Knox, Hiſt. 127, 128.

BUT

BOOK II. 1559. The Regent marches against them.

BUT to the Queen herſelf, theſe proceedings appeared in a very different light. Beſides their manifeſt contempt for her authority, the Proteſtants had violated every thing in religion, which ſhe eſteemed venerable or holy; and, on both theſe accounts, ſhe determined to inflict the ſevereſt vengeance on the whole party. She had already drawn the troops in French pay to Stirling; with theſe, and what Scottiſh forces ſhe could levy of a ſudden, ſhe marched directly to Perth, in hopes of ſurpriſing the Proteſtant leaders, before they could aſſemble their followers, whom out of confidence in her diſingenuous promiſes they had been raſhly induced to diſmiſs. Intelligence of theſe preparations and menaces was ſoon conveyed to Perth. The Proteſtants would, gladly, have ſoothed the Queen, by addreſſes both to herſelf, and to the perſons of greateſt credit in her court; but finding her inexorable, they, with great vigour, took meaſures for their own defence. Their adherents, animated with zeal for religion, and eager to expoſe themſelves in ſo good a cauſe, flocked, in ſuch numbers, to Perth, that they not only ſecured the town from danger, but, within a few days, were in a condition to take the field, and to face the Queen, who advanced with an army 7000 ſtrong.

NEITHER party, however, was impatient to engage. The Queen dreaded the event of a battle with men, whom the fervour of religion raiſed above the ſenſe of fear, or of danger. The Proteſtants beheld, with regret, the Earl of Argyll, and Prior of St. Andrew's, and ſome other eminent perſons of their party, ſtill adhering to the Queen; and deſtitute of their aid and counſel, declined hazarding an action, the ill ſucceſs of which might have proved the ruin of their cauſe. The proſpect of an accommodation was for theſe reaſons highly acceptable to both ſides: Argyll

and the Prior, who were the Queen's commiſſioners for conducting the negotiation, ſeem to have been ſincerely deſirous of reconciling the contending factions; and the earl of Glencairn arriving unexpectedly with a powerful reinforcement to the Congregation, augmented the Queen's eagerneſs for peace. A treaty was accordingly concluded, in which it was ſtipulated, that both armies ſhould be diſbanded, and the gates of Perth ſet open to the Queen; that indemnity ſhould be granted to the inhabitants of that city, and to all others concerned in the late inſurrection; that no French garriſon ſhould be left in Perth, and no French ſoldiers ſhould approach within three miles of that place; and that a Parliament ſhould immediately be held, in order to compoſe whatever differences might ſtill remain *.

1559.

A treaty concluded.

THE Leaders of the Congregation, diſtruſtful of the Queen's ſincerity, and ſenſible that conceſſions, flowing not from inclination, but extorted by the neceſſity of her affairs, could not long remain in force, entered into a new aſſociation, by which they bound themſelves, on the firſt infringement of the preſent treaty, or on the leaſt appearance of danger to their religion, to reaſſemble their followers, and to take arms in defence of what they eſteemed the cauſe of God, and of their country †.

May 29.

THE Queen, by her conduct, demonſtrated theſe precautions to be the reſult of no groundleſs or unneceſſary fear. No ſooner were the Proteſtant forces diſmiſſed, than ſhe broke every article in the treaty. She introduced French troops into Perth, fined ſome of the inhabitants, baniſhed others, removed the Magiſtrates out of office, and, on her retiring to Stirling, ſhe left behind her a garriſon

Broken by the Regent.

* Keith, 89. † Knox, 138.

Book II. 1559. of 600 men, with orders to allow the exerciſe of no other religion than the Roman Catholic. The ſituation of Perth, a place at that time of ſome ſtrength, and a town the moſt proper of any in the kingdom for the ſtation of a garriſon, ſeems to have allured the Queen to this unjuſtifiable, and ill-judged breach of public faith; which ſhe endeavoured to colour, by alledging that the body of men left at Perth was entirely compoſed of native Scots, though kept in pay by the King of France.

The Queen's ſcheme began gradually to unfold; it was now apparent, that not only the religion, but the liberties of the kingdom were threatened; and that the French troops were to be employed as inſtruments for ſubduing the Scots, and wreathing the yoke about their necks. Martial as the genius of the Scots then was, the poverty of their country made it impoſſible to keep their armies long aſſembled; and even a very ſmall body of regular troops might have proved formidable to the nation, though conſiſting wholly of ſoldiers. But, what number of French forces were then in Scotland, at what time, and under what pretexts they returned, after having left the kingdom in the year 1550, we cannot, with any certainty, determine. Cotemporary hiſtorians often ſelect, with little judgment, the circumſtances which they tranſmit to poſterity; and, with reſpect to matters of the greateſt curioſity and importance, leave ſucceeding ages altogether in the dark. We may conjecture however, from ſome paſſages in Buchanan, that the French and Scots in French pay, amounted at leaſt to 3000 men, under the command of Monſ. D'Oyſel, a creature of the houſe of Guiſe; and they were ſoon augmented to a much more formidable number.

The

1559.

THE Queen, encouraged by having ſo conſiderable a body of well diſciplined troops at her command, and inſtigated by the violent counſels of D'Oyſel, had ventured, as we have obſerved, to violate the treaty of Perth, and, by that raſh action, once more threw the nation into the moſt dangerous convulſions. The Earl of Argyll and Prior of St. Andrew's inſtantly deſerted a court, where faith and honour ſeemed to them to be no longer regarded. The Barons from the neighbouring counties repaired to them, the preachers rouzed the people to arms, and wherever they came, the ſame violent operations, which accident had occaſioned at Perth, were now encouraged out of policy. The enraged multitude was let looſe, and churches and monaſteries, the monuments of eccleſiaſtic pride and luxury, were ſacrificed to their zeal.

The Proteſtants again take arms.

IN order to check their career, the Queen, without loſing a moment, put her troops in motion; but the zeal of the Congregation got the ſtart, once more, of her vigilance and activity. In that warlike age, when all men were accuſtomed to arms, and on the leaſt proſpect of danger were ready to run to them, the leaders of the Proteſtants found no difficulty to raiſe an army. Though they ſet out from St. Andrew's with a ſlender train of an hundred horſe, crowds flocked to their ſtandards from every corner of the country through which they marched, and before they reached Falkland, a village only ten miles diſtant, they were able to meet the Queen with ſuperior force *.

THE Queen ſurprized at the approach of ſo formidable a body, which was drawn up by its leaders in ſuch a manner, as added

* Knox, 141.

Book II. 1559.

greatly in appearance to its numbers, had again recourſe to negociation. She found, however, that the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, their zeal for which had at firſt rouzed the leaders of the Congregation to take arms, was not the only object they had now in view. They were animated with the warmeſt love of civil liberty, which they conceived to be in imminent danger, from the attempts of the French forces; and theſe two paſſions mingling, added reciprocally to each other's ſtrength. Together with more enlarged notions in religion, the Reformation filled the human mind with more liberal and generous ſentiments concerning civil government. The genius of Popery is extremely favourable to the power of Princes. The implicit ſubmiſſion to all her decrees, which the Romiſh Church exacts, prepares and breaks the mind for political ſervitude; and the doctrines of the Reformers, by overturning the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of ſuperſtition, weakened the firmeſt foundations of civil tyranny. That bold ſpirit of enquiry, which led men to reject theological errors, accompanied them in other ſciences, and diſcovered every where the ſame manly zeal for truth. A new ſtudy introduced at the ſame time, added greater force to the ſpirit of liberty. Men became acquainted with the Greek and Roman authors, who deſcribed exquiſite models of free government, far ſuperior to the inaccurate and oppreſſive ſyſtem eſtabliſhed by the feudal law; and produced ſuch illuſtrious examples of public virtue, as wonderfully ſuited both the circumſtances, and ſpirit of that age. Many, among the moſt eminent Reformers, were themſelves conſiderable maſters in ancient learning; and all of them eagerly adopted the maxims and ſpirit of the ancients, with regard to government *. The moſt ardent love of liberty accompanied the Proteſtant

They aim at redreſſing civil as well as religious grievances.

* The exceſſive admiration of ancient policy was the occaſion of Knox's famous book concerning the *Government of Women*, wherein, conformable to the maxims of

teſtant religion, throughout all its progreſs; and wherever it was embraced, it rouzed an independent ſpirit, which rendered men attentive to their privileges as ſubjects, and jealous of the incroachments of their Sovereigns. Knox, and the other preachers of the Reformation, infuſed generous ſentiments concerning government into the minds of their hearers, and the Scottiſh Barons, naturally free and bold, were prompted to aſſert their rights with more freedom and boldneſs than ever. Inſtead of obeying the Queen Regent, who had enjoined them to lay down their arms, they demanded not only the redreſs of their religious grievances, but as a preliminary toward ſettling the nation, and ſecuring its liberties, required the immediate expulſion of the French troops out of Scotland. It was not in the Queen's power to make ſo important a conceſſion, without the concurrence of the French Monarch; and as ſome time was requiſite in order to obtain that, ſhe hoped, during this interval, to receive ſuch reinforcements from France, as would inſure the accompliſhment of that deſign, which ſhe had twice attempted with unequal ſtrength. Mean while, ſhe agreed to a ceſſation of arms for eight days, and, before the expiration of theſe, engaged to tranſport the French troops to the other ſide of the Forth; and to ſend commiſſioners to St. Andrew's, who ſhould labour to bring all differences to accommodation. As ſhe hoped, by means of the French troops, to overawe the Proteſtants in the ſouthern counties, the former article in the treaty was punctually

June 13.

of the ancient legiſlators, which modern experience has proved to be ill-founded, he pronounces the elevation of women to the ſupreme authority, to be utterly deſtructive of good government. His principles, authorities, and examples were all drawn from ancient writers. The ſame obſervation may be made with regard to Buchanan's Dialogue, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*. It is founded not on the maxims of feudal, but of ancient government.

Book II. punctually executed; the latter, having been inſerted merely to amuſe the Congregation, was no longer remembered.

1559.

A ſecond treaty violated.

By theſe reiterated and wanton inſtances of perfidy, the Queen loſt all credit with her adverſaries; and no ſafety appearing in any other courſe, they again took arms with more inflamed reſentment, and with bolder and more extenſive views. The removing of the French forces had laid open to them all the country ſituated between Forth and Tay. The inhabitants of Perth alone remaining ſubjected to the inſolence and exactions of the garriſon, which the Queen had left there, implored the aſſiſtance of the Congregation for their relief. Thither they marched, and having, without effect, required the Queen to evacuate the town in terms of the former treaty, they prepared to beſiege it in form. The Queen employed the Earl of Huntly and Lord Erſkine to divert them from this enterprize. But her wonted artifices were now of no avail; repeated ſo often, they could deceive no longer; and without liſtening to her offers, the Proteſtants continued the ſiege, and ſoon obliged the garriſon to capitulate.

Rapid march and ſucceſs of the Proteſtants.

After the loſs of Perth, the Queen endeavoured to ſeize Stirling, a place of ſome ſtrength, and, from its command of the only bridge over the Forth, of great importance. But the leaders of the Congregation, having intelligence of her deſign, prevented the execution of it, by an haſty march thither, with part of their forces. The inhabitants, heartily attached to the cauſe, ſet open to them the gates of their town. Thence they advanced, with the ſame rapidity, towards Edinburgh, which the Queen, on their approach, abandoned with precipitation, and retired to Dunbar.

The

THE Proteſtant army, wherever it came, kindled, or ſpread the ardour of Reformation, and the utmoſt exceſſes of violence were committed upon churches and monaſteries. The former were ſpoiled of every decoration, which was then eſteemed ſacred, the latter were laid in ruins. We are apt, at this diſtance of time, to condemn the furious zeal of the Reformers, and to regret the overthrow of ſo many ſtately fabrics, the monuments of our anceſtors magnificence, and among the nobleſt ornaments of the kingdom. But, amidſt the violence of a Reformation, carried on in oppoſition to legal authority, ſome irregularities were unavoidable; and perhaps no one could have been permitted more proper to allure and intereſt the multitude, or more fatal to the grandeur of the eſtabliſhed church. However abſurd and ill-founded the ſpeculative errors of Popery may be, ſome inquiry and attention are requiſite towards diſcovering them. The abuſes and corruptions, which had crept into the public worſhip of that church, lay more open to obſervation, and by ſtriking the ſenſes, excited more univerſal diſguſt. Under the long reign of Heatheniſm, ſuperſtition ſeems to have exhauſted its talent of invention, ſo that when a ſuperſtitious ſpirit ſeized Chriſtians, they were obliged to imitate the Heathens in the pomp and magnificence of their ceremonies, and to borrow from them the ornaments and decorations of their temples. To the pure and ſimple worſhip of the primitive Chriſtians, there ſucceeded a ſpecies of ſplendid idolatry, nearly reſembling thoſe pagan originals, whence it had been copied. The contrariety of ſuch obſervances, to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, was almoſt the firſt thing, in the Romiſh ſyſtem, which awakened the indignation of the Reformers, who applying to theſe, the denunciations in the Old Teſtament againſt idolatry, imagined that they could not endeavour at ſuppreſſing them, with too much zeal. No taſk could be more ac-

BOOK II. 1559.

ceptable

Book II. 1559. ceptable to the multitude, than to overturn thoſe ſeats of ſuperſtition; they ran with emulation to perform it, and happy was the man whoſe hand was moſt adventrous and ſucceſsful in executing a work eſteemed ſo pious. Nor did their leaders labour to reſtrain this impetuous ſpirit of Reformation. Irregular and violent as its ſallies were, they tended directly to that end which they had in view; for by demoliſhing the monaſteries throughout the kingdom, and ſetting at liberty their wretched inhabitants, they hoped to render it impoſſible ever to rebuild the one, or to re-aſſemble the other.

But amidſt theſe irregular proceedings, a circumſtance, which does honour to the conduct and humanity of the leaders of the Congregation, deſerves notice. They ſo far reſtrained the rage of their followers, and were able ſo to temper their heat and zeal, that few of the Roman Catholics were expoſed to any perſonal inſult, and not a ſingle man ſuffered death *.

At the ſame time, we diſcover, by the facility with which theſe great revolutions were effected, how violently the current of national favour ran towards the Reformation. No more than 300 men marched out of Perth under the Earl of Argyll and Prior of St. Andrew's †; with this inconſiderable force they advanced. But wherever they came, the people joined them in a body; their army was ſeldom leſs numerous than 5000 men; the gates of every town were thrown open to receive them; and, without ſtriking a ſingle
June 29. blow, they took poſſeſſion of the capital of the kingdom.

This rapid and aſtoniſhing ſucceſs ſeems to have encouraged the Reformers to extend their views, and to riſe in their demands.

* Leſly, 231. † Keith, 94.

Not

Not ſatisfied with their firſt claim of toleration for their religion, they now, openly, aimed at eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant doctrine on the ruins of Popery. For this reaſon, they determined to fix their reſidence at Edinburgh; and, by their appointment, Knox and ſome other preachers taking poſſeſſion of the pulpits, which had been abandoned by the affrightened clergy, declaimed againſt the errors of Popery, with ſuch fervent zeal, as could not fail of gaining many proſelytes. BOOK II. 1559.

IN the mean time, the Queen, who had prudently given way to a torrent which ſhe could not reſiſt, obſerved, with pleaſure, that it now began to ſubſide. The leaders of the Congregation had been above two months in arms, and by the expences of a campaign, protracted ſo long beyond the uſual time of ſervice in that age, had exhauſted all the money, which a country, where riches did not abound, had been able to ſupply. The multitude, dazzled with their ſucceſs, and concluding the work to be already done, retired to their own habitations. A few, only, of the more zealous or wealthy Barons remained with their preachers at Edinburgh. As intelligence is procured in civil wars with little difficulty, whatever was tranſacted at Edinburgh, was ſoon known at Dunbar. And the Queen, regulating her own conduct by the ſituation of her adverſaries, artfully amuſed them with the proſpect of an immediate accommodation; while, at the ſame time, ſhe, by ſtudied delays, ſpun out the negociations for that purpoſe, to ſuch a length, that, in the end, the party dwindled to an inconſiderable number, and, as if peace had been already re-eſtabliſhed, became careleſs of military diſcipline. The Queen, who watched for ſuch an opportunity, advanced, unexpectedly, by a ſudden march in the night with all her forces, and appearing before Edinburgh, filled that city with

Book II. 1559. the utmoſt conſternation. The Proteſtants, weakened by the imprudent diſperſion of their followers, durſt not encounter the French troops in the open field; and were even unable to defend an ill-fortified town, againſt their aſſaults. Unwilling, however, to abandon the citizens to the Queen's mercy, they endeavoured, by facing the enemies army, to gain time for collecting their own aſſociates. But, the Queen, in ſpite of all their reſiſtance, would have eaſily forced her way into the town, if the ſeaſonable concluſion of a truce had not procured her admiſſion, without the effuſion of blood.

A third treaty. THEIR dangerous ſituation eaſily induced the Congregation to liſten to any overtures of peace; and as the Queen was looking daily for the arrival of a ſtrong reinforcement from France, and expected great advantages from a ceſſation of arms, ſhe alſo agreed to it upon no unequal conditions. Together with a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, from the 24th of July to the 10th of January, it was ſtipulated, in this treaty, that, on the one hand, the Proteſtants ſhould abandon Edinburgh next morning; remain in dutiful ſubjection to the government of the Queen Regent; abſtain from all future violation of religious houſes; and give no interruption to the eſtabliſhed clergy, either in the diſcharge of their functions, or in the enjoyment of their benefices. On the other hand, the Queen agreed to give no moleſtation to the preachers or profeſſors of the Proteſtant religion; to allow no other form of worſhip in Edinburgh but the Reformed; and to permit the free and public exerciſe of it all over the kingdom. The Queen hoped to ſooth the Proteſtants, by theſe liberal conceſſions in behalf of their religion, and expected, from indulging their favourite paſſion, to render them more

more compliant with reſpect to other articles, particularly the expulſion of the French troops out of Scotland. The anxiety which the Queen expreſſed for retaining this body of men, rendered them, more and more, the objects of national jealouſy and averſion. The immediate expulſion of them was therefore demanded a-new, and with greater warmth; but the Queen, taking advantage of the diſtreſs of the adverſe party, eluded the requeſt, and would conſent to nothing more, than that a French garriſon ſhould not be introduced into Edinburgh. 1559.

THE deſperate ſtate of their affairs, impoſed on the Congregation the neceſſity of agreeing to this article, which, however, was very far from giving them ſatisfaction. Whatever apprehenſions the Scots had conceived, from retaining the French forces in the kingdom, were abundantly juſtified during the late commotions. A ſmall body of thoſe troops, maintained in conſtant pay, and rendered formidable by regular diſcipline, had checked the progreſs of a martial people, though animated with zeal both for religion and liberty. The ſmalleſt addition to their number, and a conſiderable one was daily expected, might prove fatal to public liberty, and Scotland might be expoſed to the danger of being reduced, from an independent kingdom, to the mean condition of a province, annexed to the empire of its powerful ally.

In order to provide againſt this imminent calamity, the Duke of Chatelherault, and Earl of Huntly, immediately after concluding the truce, deſired an interview with the chiefs of the Congregation. Theſe two noblemen, the moſt potent, at that time, in Scotland, were the leaders of the party, which adhered to the eſtabliſhed church. They had followed the Queen, during the

Book II. late commotions, and having acceſs to obſerve more narrowly the dangerous tendency of her councils, their abhorrence of the yoke which was preparing for their country, ſurmounted all other conſiderations, and determined them rather to endanger the religion which they profeſſed, than to give their aid towards the execution of her pernicious deſigns. They proceeded farther, and promiſed to Argyll, Glencairn, and the Prior of St. Andrew's, who were appointed to meet with them, that if the Queen ſhould, with her uſual inſincerity, violate any article in the treaty of truce, or refuſe to gratify the wiſhes of the whole nation, by diſmiſſing her French troops, they would, then, inſtantly join with their countrymen, in compelling her to a meaſure, which the public ſafety, and the preſervation of their liberties rendered neceſſary *.

1559.

July 8. About this time, died Henry II. of France; juſt when he had adopted a ſyſtem, with regard to the affairs of Scotland, which would, in all probability, have reſtored union and tranquillity to that kingdom †. Towards the cloſe of his reign, the Princes of Lorrain began, viſibly, to decline in favour, and the Conſtable Montmorency, by the aſſiſtance of the Dutcheſs of Valentinois, recovered that aſcendant over the ſpirit of his maſter, which his great experience, and his faithful, though often unfortunate ſervices, ſeemed juſtly to merit. That prudent miniſter imputed the inſurrections in Scotland wholly to the Duke of Guiſe and Cardinal of Lorrain, whoſe violent and precipitant councils could not fail of tranſporting, beyond all bounds of moderation, men, whoſe minds were poſſeſſed with that jealouſy, which is inſeparable from the love of civil liberty, or inflamed with that ardour which ac-

* Knox, 154. † Melv. 49.

companies

companies religious zeal. And, in order to convince Henry, that he did not load his rivals with any groundleſs accuſation, he prevailed to have Melvil *, a Scottiſh Gentleman of his retinue, diſpatched into his native country, with inſtructions to obſerve the motions both of the Regent, and of her adverſaries; and the King agreed to regulate his future proceedings, in that kingdom, by Melvil's report. BOOK II. 1559.

DID hiſtory indulge herſelf in ſuch ſpeculations, it would be amuſing to enquire what a different direction might have been given by this reſolution, to the national ſpirit; and to what a different iſſue, Melvil's report, which would have ſet the conduct of the malecontents in the moſt favourable light, might have conducted the public diſorders. Perhaps, by gentle treatment, and artful policy, the progreſs of the Reformation might have been checked, and Scotland brought to depend upon France. Perhaps, by gaining poſſeſſion of this avenue, the French might have made their way into England, and, under colour of ſupporting Mary's title to the Crown, they might have re-eſtabliſhed the Roman Catholic religion, and deſtroyed the liberties of that kingdom. But, into this boundleſs field of fancy and conjecture, the hiſtorian muſt make no excurſions; to relate real occurrences, and to explain their real cauſes and effects, is his peculiar and only province.

THE tragical and untimely death of the French Monarch put an end to all moderate and pacific meaſures, with regard to Scotland. The Duke of Guiſe, and the Cardinal his brother, upon the acceſſion of Francis II. a Prince void of genius, and without

Acceſſion of Francis II. to the Crown of France.

* The Author of the Memoirs.

experience,

Book II. 1559. experience, assumed the chief direction of French affairs. Allied so nearly to the throne, by the marriage of their niece the Queen of Scots with the young King, they now wanted but little of regal dignity, and nothing of regal power. This power did not long remain inactive in their hands. The same vast schemes of ambition, which they had planned out under the former reign, were again resumed; and they were enabled, by possessing such ample authority, to pursue them with more vigour, and greater probability of success. They beheld, with infinite regret, the progress of the Protestant religion in Scotland; and sensible what an unsurmountable obstacle it would prove to their designs, they bent all their strength to check its growth, before it rose to any greater height. For this purpose, they carried on their preparations with all possible expedition, and encouraged the Queen their sister, to expect, in a short time, the arrival of an army, so powerful, as the zeal of their adversaries, however desperate, would not venture to oppose.

Nor were the Lords of the Congregation either ignorant of those violent counsels, which prevailed in the court of France, since the death of Henry, or careless of providing against the danger, which threatened them from that quarter. The success of their cause, as well as their personal safety, depending entirely on the unanimity and vigour of their own resolutions, they endeavoured to guard against division, and to cement together more closely, by entering into a stricter bond of confederacy and mutual defence. Two persons concurred in this new association, who brought a great accession both of reputation and of power to the party. These were the Duke of Chatelherault, and his eldest son the Earl of Arran. This young nobleman, having resided some years in France, where he

he commanded the Scottiſh Guards, had imbibed the Proteſtant opinions concerning religion. Hurried along by the heat of youth, and the zeal of a proſelyte, he had uttered ſentiments, with reſpect to the points in controverſy, which did not ſuit the temper of a bigotted court, intent, at that juncture, on the extinction of the Proteſtant religion; in order to accompliſh which, the utmoſt exceſſes of violence were committed. The church was ſuffered to wreak its utmoſt fury upon all who were ſuſpected of hereſy. Courts were erected, in different parts of France, to take cognizance of this crime, and by their ſentences, ſeveral perſons of diſtinction were condemned to the flames.

BUT, in order to inſpire more univerſal terror, the Princes of Lorrain reſolved to ſelect, for a ſacrifice, ſome perſon, whoſe fall might convince all ranks of men, that neither ſplendor of birth, nor eminence in ſtation, would exempt from puniſhment, thoſe who ſhould be guilty of this unpardonable tranſgreſſion. The Earl of Arran was the perſon deſtined to be the unhappy victim *. As he was allied to one throne, and the preſumptive heir to another; as he poſſeſſed the firſt rank in his own country, and enjoyed an honourable ſtation in France; his condemnation could not fail of making the deſired impreſſion on the whole kingdom. But the Cardinal of Lorrain, having let fall ſome expreſſions, which raiſed the Earl of Arran's ſuſpicions of the deſign, he eſcaped the intended blow by a timely flight. Indignation, zeal, reſentment, all prompted him to ſeek revenge upon theſe perſecutors of himſelf and of the religion which he profeſſed; and as he paſſed through England, on his return to his native country, Elizabeth, by hopes and

* Thuan. lib. xxiv. p. 462. Edit. Francof.

Book II. promiſes, inflamed thoſe paſſions, and ſent him back into Scotland, animated with the ſame implacable averſion for France, which poſ-

1559. ſeſſed a great part of his countrymen. He quickly communicated

Earl of Arran joins the Proteſtants. theſe ſentiments to his father the Duke of Chatelherault, who was already extremely diſguſted with the meaſures carrying on in Scotland; and as it was the fate of that nobleman to be governed, in every inſtance, by thoſe about him, he now ſuffered himſelf to be drawn from the Queen Regent; and having joined the Congregation, was conſidered, from that time, as the head of the party.

But with reſpect to him, this diſtinction was merely nominal. James Stewart, Prior of St. Andrew's, was the perſon who moved and actuated the whole body of the Proteſtants, among whom, he poſſeſſed that unbounded confidence, which his ſtrenuous adherence to their intereſt, and his great abilities, ſo juſtly merited. He was the natural ſon of James V. by a daughter of Lord Erſkine; and as that amorous Monarch, had left ſeveral others a burden upon the Crown, they were all deſtined for the church, where they could be placed in ſtations of dignity and affluence. In conſequence of this reſolution, the Priory of St. Andrew's had been conferred upon James: but, during ſo buſy a period, he ſoon became diſguſted with the indolence and retirement of a monaſtic life; and his enterpriſing genius called him forth, to act a principal part on a more public and conſpicuous theatre. The ſcene, in which he appeared, required talents of different kinds; and military virtue, and political diſcernment, were equally neceſſary in order to render him illuſtrious. Theſe he poſſeſſed in an eminent degree. To the moſt unqueſtionable perſonal bravery, he added great ſkill in the art of war, and in every enterprize his arms were crowned with ſucceſs. His ſagacity and penetration in civil affairs enabled him,

amidſt

amidſt the reeling and turbulence of factions, to hold a proſperous courſe. While his boldneſs in defence of the Reformation, together with the decency, and even ſeverity of his manners, ſecured him the reputation of being ſincerely attached to religion, without which, it was impoſſible, in that age, to gain an aſcendant over mankind. BOOK II. 1559.

IT was not without reaſon, that the Queen dreaded the enmity of a man, ſo capable to obſtruct her deſigns. And as ſhe could not, with her utmoſt addreſs, make the leaſt impreſſion on his fidelity to his aſſociates, ſhe endeavoured to leſſen his influence, and to ſcatter among them the ſeeds of jealouſy and diſtruſt, by inſinuating that the ambition of the Prior aſpired beyond the condition of a ſubject, and aimed at nothing leſs than the Crown itſelf.

AN accuſation ſo improbable gained but little credit. And whatever thoughts of this kind, the preſumption of unexpected ſucceſs, and his elevation to the higheſt dignity in the kingdom, may be alledged to have inſpired, at any ſubſequent period, it is certain that, at this juncture, he could form no ſuch vaſt deſign. To dethrone a Queen, who was lineal heir to an ancient race of Monarchs; who had been guilty of no action, by which ſhe could forfeit the eſteem and affection of her ſubjects; who could employ, in defence of her rights, the forces of a kingdom, much more powerful than her own; and to ſubſtitute, in her place, a perſon, whom the illegitimacy of his birth, by the practice of all civilized nations, rendered incapable of any inheritance, either public or private; was a project, ſo chimerical, as the moſt extravagant ambition would ſcarce entertain, and could never conceive to be practicable. The

Book II. promiſe, too, which the Prior made to Melvil, of reſiding conſtantly in France, on condition the public grievances were redreſſed *; the confidence repoſed in him by the Duke of Chatelherault and his ſon, the preſumptive heirs to the Crown; and the concurrence of almoſt the whole Scottiſh nobles, in promoting thoſe meaſures, by which he gave offence to the French court, go far towards his vindication from thoſe illegal and criminal deſigns, with the imputation of which, the Queen endeavoured, at that time, to load him.

1559.

Troops arrive from France, and fortify Leith.

THE arrival of a thouſand French ſoldiers compenſated, in ſome degree, for the loſs which the Queen ſuſtained by the defection of the Duke of Chatelherault. Theſe were, immediately, commanded to fortify Leith, in which place, on account of its commodious harbour, and its ſituation in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, and in a plentiful country, the Queen reſolved to fix the head quarters of her foreign forces. This unpopular meaſure, by the manner of executing it, was rendered ſtill more unpopular. In order to bring the town entirely under their command, the French turned out a great part of the ancient inhabitants, and taking poſſeſſion of the houſes, which they had obliged them to abandon, preſented, to the view of the Scots, two objects equally irritating and offenſive; on the one hand, a number of their countrymen expelled their habitations by violence, and wandering without any certain abode; on the other, a colony of foreigners, ſettling, with their wives and children, in the heart of Scotland, growing into ſtrength by daily reinforcements, and openly preparing a yoke, to which, without ſome timely exertion of national ſpirit, the whole kingdom muſt, of neceſſity, ſubmit.

* Melvil, 54.

IT was with the utmoſt concern that the Lords of the Congregation beheld this bold and deciſive ſtep, taken by the Queen Regent: nor did they heſitate, a moment, whether they ſhould employ their whole ſtrength, in one generous effort, to reſcue their religion and liberty from impending deſtruction. But, in order to juſtify their own conduct, and to throw the blame entirely on their adverſaries, they reſolved to preſerve the appearances of decency and reſpect towards their ſuperiors, and to have no recourſe to arms, without the moſt urgent and apparent neceſſity. They joined, with this view, in an addreſs to the Regent, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, their diſſatisfaction with the meaſures ſhe was purſuing, and beſeeching her to quiet the fears and jealouſies of the nation, by deſiſting from fortifying Leith. The Queen, conſcious of her preſent advantageous ſituation, and elated with the hopes of freſh ſuccours, was in no diſpoſition for liſtening to demands, utterly inconſiſtent with her views, and urged with that bold importunity, which is ſo little acceptable to Princes.

1559. The Proteſtants remonſtrate againſt this.

Sept. 29.

THE ſuggeſtions of her French Counſellors contributed, without doubt, to alienate her ſtill farther from any ſcheme of accommodation. As the Queen was ready, on all occaſions, to diſcover an extraordinary deference for the opinions of her countrymen, her brothers, who knew her ſecret diſapprobation of the violent meaſures they were driving on, took care to place near her ſuch perſons, as betrayed her, by their inſinuations, into many actions, which her own unbiaſſed judgment would have highly condemned. And as their ſucceſs in the preſent juncture, when all things were haſtening towards a criſis, depended entirely on the Queen's firmneſs, the Princes of Lorrain did not truſt wholly to the influence of their ordinary agents; but, in order to add the greater weight to

The Regent diſregards their remonſtrances.

Book II. 1559. their counſels, they called in aid the Miniſters of religion; and, by the authority of their ſacred character, they hoped effectually to recommend to their ſiſter, that ſyſtem of ſeverity which they had eſpouſed *. With this view, but under pretence of confounding the Proteſtants by the ſkill of ſuch able maſters in controverſy, they appointed ſeveral French divines to reſide in Scotland. At the head of theſe, and with the character of legate from the Pope, was Pellevè Biſhop of Amiens, and afterwards Archbiſhop and Cardinal of Sens, a furious bigot, ſervilely devoted to the houſe of Guiſe, and a proper inſtrument for recommending or executing the moſt outrageous meaſures.

Amidst the noiſe and danger of civil arms, theſe Doctors had little opportunity to diſplay their addreſs in the uſe of their theological weapons. But they gave no ſmall offence to the nation by one of their actions. They perſuaded the Queen to ſeize the church of St. Giles in Edinburgh, which had remained, ever ſince the late truce, in the hands of the Proteſtants; and having, by a new and ſolemn conſecration, purified the fabric from the pollution, with which they ſuppoſed the profane miniſtrations of the Proteſtants to have defiled it, they, in direct contradiction to one article in the late treaty, re-eſtabliſhed there the rites of the Romiſh church. This, added to the indifference, and even contempt, with which the Queen received their remonſtrances, convinced the Lords of the Congregation, that it was not only vain to expect any redreſs of their grievances at her hands, but abſolutely neceſſary to take arms in their own defence.

* Leſly, 215. Caſtelnau. ap. Jebb. vol. ii. 446. 473.

The

THE eager and impetuous ſpirit of the nation, as well as every conſideration of good policy, prompted them to take this bold ſtep without delay. It was but a ſmall part of the French auxiliaries which had as yet arrived. The fortifications of Leith, though advancing faſt, were ſtill far from being compleat. Under theſe circumſtances of diſadvantage, they conceived it poſſible to ſurprize the Queen's party, and, by one ſudden and deciſive blow, to prevent all future bloodſhed and contention. Full of theſe expectations, they advanced rapidly towards Edinburgh with a numerous army. But it was no eaſy matter to deceive an adverſary, ſo vigilant and attentive as the Queen Regent. With her uſual ſagacity, ſhe both foreſaw the danger, and took the only proper courſe to avoid it. Inſtead of keeping the field againſt enemies, ſuperior in number, and formidable on a day of battle, by the ardour of their courage, ſhe retired into Leith, and determined patiently to wait the arrival of new reinforcements. Slight and unfiniſhed as the fortifications of that town then were, ſhe did not dread the efforts of an army, provided neither with heavy cannon, nor with military ſtores, and utterly ignorant of the method of attacking any place, fortified with more art than thoſe ancient towers, erected all over the kingdom, in defence of private property againſt the incurſions of banditti.

1559. They take arms in their own defence.

October 6.

NOR did the Queen, mean while, neglect to have recourſe to thoſe arts, which ſhe had often employed, to weaken or divide her adverſaries. By private ſollicitations and promiſes, ſhe ſhook the fidelity, or abated the ardor of ſome. By open reproach and accuſation, ſhe blaſted the reputation, and diminiſhed the authority of others. Her emiſſaries were every where at work, and, notwithſtanding the zeal for religion and liberty, which then animated the nation,

Book II. 1559. nation, they ſeem to have laboured not without ſucceſs. We find Knox, about this period, abounding in complaints of the lukewarm and languid ſpirit, which had begun to ſpread among his party *. But, if their zeal ſlackened a little, and ſuffered a momentary intermiſſion, it ſoon blazed up with freſh vigour, and roſe to a greater height than ever.

Renew their remonſtrances.

THE Queen herſelf gave occaſion to this, by the reply which ſhe made to a new remonſtrance from the Lords of the Congregation. Upon their arrival at Edinburgh, they once more repreſented to her the dangers ariſing from the increaſe of the French troops, the fortifying of Leith, and her other meaſures, which they conceived to be deſtructive to the peace and liberty of the kingdom; and in this addreſs, they ſpoke in a firmer tone, and avowed more openly than ever, their reſolution of proceeding to the utmoſt extremities, in order to put a ſtop to ſuch dangerous encroachments. To a remonſtrance of this nature, and urged with ſo much boldneſs, the Queen replied in terms no leſs vigorous and explicit. She pretended that ſhe was not accountable to the confederate lords for any part of her conduct. And upon no repreſentation of theirs, would ſhe either abandon meaſures, which ſhe deemed neceſſary; or diſmiſs forces, which ſhe found uſeful; or demoliſh a fortification, which might prove of advantage. At the ſame time, ſhe required them, on pain of treaſon, to diſband the forces which they had aſſembled.

But without ſucceſs.

THIS haughty and imperious ſtile ſounded harſhly to Scottiſh nobles, impatient, from their national character, of the ſlighteſt appearance

* Knox, 180.

of

2

of injury; accuſtomed, even from their own Monarchs, to the moſt reſpectful treatment; and poſſeſſing, under an ariſtocratical form of government, ſuch a ſhare of power as equalled, at all times, and often controlled that of the Sovereign. They were ſenſible, at once, of the indignity offered to themſelves, and alarmed with this plain declaration of the Queen's intentions; and as there now remained but one ſtep to take, they wanted neither public ſpirit nor reſolution to take it. BOOK II. 1559.

Deliberate concerning the courſe which they ought to take.

BUT, that they might not ſeem to depart from the eſtabliſhed forms of the conſtitution, for which, even amidſt their moſt violent operations, men always retain the greateſt reverence, they aſſembled the whole Peers, Barons, and Repreſentatives of burroughs who adhered to their party. Theſe formed a convention, which exceeded in number, and equalled in dignity, the uſual meetings of parliament. The leaders of the Congregation laid before them the declaration which the Queen had given in anſwer to their remonſtrance; repreſented the unavoidable ruin, which the meaſures, ſhe therein avowed and juſtified, would bring upon the kingdom; and requiring their direction with regard to the obedience due to an adminiſtration ſo unjuſt and oppreſſive, they ſubmitted to their deciſion, a queſtion, one of the moſt delicate and intereſting that can poſſibly fall under the conſideration of ſubjects. October 21.

THIS aſſembly proceeded to decide, with no leſs diſpatch, than unanimity. Strangers to thoſe forms, which protract buſineſs; unacquainted with the arts, which make a figure in debate; and much more fitted for action, than diſcourſe; a warlike people always haſten to a concluſion, and bring their deliberations to the ſhorteſt iſſue. It was the work but of one day, to examine and to reſolve this nice

Book II. 1559. nice problem, concerning the behaviour of ſubjects towards a ruler who abuſes his power. But, however abrupt their proceedings may appear, they were not deſtitute of ſolemnity. As the determination of the point in doubt, was conceived to be no leſs the office of divines, than of laymen, the former were called to aſſiſt with their opinion. Knox and Willox appeared for the whole order, and pronounced, without heſitation, both from the precepts and examples in ſcripture, that it was lawful for ſubjects not only to reſiſt tyrannical princes, but to deprive them of that authority, which, in their hands, becomes an inſtrument for deſtroying thoſe, whom the Almighty ordained them to protect. The deciſion of perſons, revered ſo highly for their ſacred character, but more for their zeal and their piety, had great weight with the whole aſſembly. Not ſatisfied with the common indiſcriminate manner of ſignifying conſent, every perſon preſent was called in his turn to declare his ſentiments, and riſing up in order, all gave their ſuffrages, without one diſſenting voice, for depriving the Queen of the office of Regent, which ſhe had exerciſed ſo much to the detriment of the kingdom *.

They deprive the Queen of the office of Regent.

The rights of their conduct.

THIS extraordinary ſentence was owing no leſs to the love of liberty, than to zeal for religion. In the act of deprivation, religious grievances are ſlightly mentioned; and the dangerous incroachments of the Queen upon the civil conſtitution are produced, by the Lords of the Congregation, in order to prove their conduct to have been not only juſt, but neceſſary. The introducing foreign troops into a kingdom, at peace with all the world; the ſeizing and fortifying towns in different parts of the country; the promoting ſtrangers to offices of great power and dignity; the debaſing the

* Knox, 184.

current

current coin *; the ſubverting the ancient laws; the impoſing of new and burdenſome taxes; and the attempting to ſubdue the kingdom, and to oppreſs its liberties, by open and repeated acts of violence, are enumerated at great length, and placed in the ſtrongeſt light. On all theſe accounts, the Congregation maintained that the nobles, as counſellors to their monarchs, and the guardians and defenders of the conſtitution, had a right to interpoſe; and therefore, by virtue of this right, in the name of the King and Queen, and with many expreſſions of duty and ſubmiſſion towards them, they deprived the Queen Regent of her office, and ordained, that, for the future, no obedience ſhould be given to her commands †. BOOK II. 1559.

VIOLENT as this action may appear, there wanted not principles in the conſtitution, nor precedents in the hiſtory of Scotland, to juſtify and to authorize it. Under the ariſtocratical form of government eſtabliſhed among the Scots, the power of the Sovereign was extremely limited. The more conſiderable nobles were them-

* The ſtandard of money in Scotland was continually varying. In the 16th of James V. A. D. 1529, a pound weight of gold, when coined, produced 108 pounds of current money. But under the Queen Regent's adminiſtration, A. D. 1556, a pound weight of gold, although the quantity of alloy was conſiderably encreaſed, produced 144 pounds current money. In 1529, a pound weight of ſilver, when coined, produced 91. 2 s.; but in 1556, it produced 13 l. current money. Ruddim. Præfat. ad Anderſ. Diplomat. Scotiæ, p. 80, 81. from which, it appears that this complaint, which the malecontents often repeated, was not altogether deſtitute of foundation.

† M. Caſtelnau, after condemning the dangerous councils of the Princes of Lorrain with regard to the affairs of Scotland, acknowledges, with his uſual candour, that the Scots declared war againſt the Queen Regent, rather from a deſire of vindicating their civil liberties, than from any motive of religion. Mem. 446.

Book II. 1559. ſelves petty Princes, poſſeſſing extenſive juriſdictions, almoſt independent of the crown, and followed by numerous vaſſals, who, in every conteſt, eſpouſed their chieftain's quarrel, in oppoſition to the King. Hence the many inſtances of the impotence of regal authority, which are to be found in the Scottiſh hiſtory. In every age, the nobles not only claimed, but exerciſed the right of controuling the King. Jealous of their privileges, and eager to take the field in defence of them, every error in adminiſtration was obſerved, every encroachment upon the rights of the ariſtocracy excited indignation, and no Prince ever ventured to tranſgreſs the boundaries, which the law had preſcribed to prerogative, without meeting reſiſtance, which ſhook, or overturned his throne. Encouraged by the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and countenanced by the example of their anceſtors, the Lords of the Congregation thought it incumbent on them, at this juncture, to inquire into the mal-adminiſtration of the Queen Regent, and to preſerve their country from being enſlaved or conquered, by depriving her of the power to execute ſuch a pernicious ſcheme *.

* The act of deprivation, and a letter from the Lords of the Congregation to the Queen Regent are ſtill extant, Knox, 184. They diſcover not only, that maſculine and undaunted ſpirit, natural to men capable of ſo bold a reſolution; but are remarkable for a preciſion, and vigour of expreſſion, which we are ſurprized to meet with in an age ſo impoliſhed. The ſame obſervation may be made with reſpect to the other public papers of that period. The ignorance or bad taſte of an age may render the compoſitions of authors by profeſſion obſcure, or affected, or abſurd; but the language of buſineſs is nearly the ſame at all times; and wherever men think clearly, and are thoroughly intereſted, they expreſs themſelves with perſpicuity and force.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK III.

THE Lords of the Congregation ſoon found, that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking, which it was beyond their utmoſt ability to accompliſh. The French garriſon, deſpiſing their numerous, but irregular forces, refuſed to ſurrender Leith, and to depart out of the kingdom; nor were they ſufficiently ſkilful in the art of war to reduce the place by force, or poſſeſſed of the artillery, or magazines, requiſite for that purpoſe; and their followers, though of undaunted courage, yet being accuſtomed to decide every quarrel by a battle, were ſtrangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and ſoon became impatient of the ſevere and conſtant duty which a ſiege requires. The Queen's emiſſaries, who found it eaſy to mingle with their countrymen, were at the utmoſt pains to heighten their diſguſt, which diſcovered itſelf at firſt in murmurs and complaints, but on occaſion of the want of money for paying the army, broke out into open mutiny.

1559. The Congregation involved in difficulties.

Book III. 1559. The moſt eminent leaders were ſcarce ſecure from the unbridled inſolence of the ſoldiers; while ſome of inferior rank, interpoſing too raſhly in order to quell them, were torn in pieces by their rage. Diſcord, conſternation, and perplexity reigned in the camp of the Reformers. The Duke, their General, ſunk, with his uſual timidity, under the terror of approaching danger, and diſcovered manifeſt ſymptoms of repentance for his raſhneſs, in eſpouſing ſuch a deſperate cauſe.

Apply to Elizabeth for aſſiſtance.

In this ſituation of their affairs, the Congregation had recourſe to Elizabeth, from whoſe protection they could derive their only reaſonable hopes of ſucceſs. Some of their more ſagacious leaders, having foreſeen that the party might probably be involved in great difficulties, had endeavoured to ſecure a reſource in any ſuch exigency, by entering into a ſecret correſpondence with the court of England *. Elizabeth, aware of the dangerous deſigns which the Princes of Lorrain had formed againſt her Crown, was early ſenſible of how much importance it would be, not only to check the progreſs of the French in Scotland, but to extend her own influence in that kingdom †; and perceiving how effectually the preſent inſurrections would contribute to retard or defeat the ſchemes formed againſt England, ſhe liſtened with pleaſure to theſe applications of the malecontents, and gave them private aſſurances of powerful ſupport to their cauſe. Randolph ‡, an agent extremely proper for conducting any dark intrigue, was diſpatched into Scotland, and reſiding ſecretly among the Lords of the Congregation, obſerved and quickened their motions. Money ſeemed to be the only thing they wanted at that time; and it was owing to a ſeaſon-

* Burn. Hiſt. Ref. 3. Append. 278. Keith, Append. 21.

† See Append. N° I.

‡ Keith, Append. 29.

able

able remittance from England *, that the Scottiſh nobles had been enabled to take the field, and to advance towards Leith. But as Elizabeth was diſtruſtful of the Scots, and ſtudious to preſerve appearances with France, her ſubſidies were beſtowed at firſt with extreme frugality. The ſubſiſtence of an army, and the expences of a ſiege ſoon exhauſted this penurious ſupply, to which the Lords of the Congregation could make little addition from their own funds; and the ruin and diſperſion of the party muſt have inſtantly followed.

She ſends them a ſmall ſum of money,

IN order to prevent this, Cockburn of Ormiſton was ſent, with the utmoſt expedition, to the governors of the town and caſtle of Berwick. As Berwick was, at that time, the town of greateſt importance on the Scottiſh frontier, Sir Ralph Sadler and Sir James Crofts, perſons of conſiderable figure, were employed to command there, and were entruſted with a diſcretionary power of ſupplying the Scottiſh malecontents, according to the exigency of their affairs. From them Cockburn received 4000 crowns, but little to the advantage of his party. The Earl of Bothwell, by the Queen's inſtigation, lay in wait for him on his return, diſperſed his followers, wounded him, and carried off the money.

which is intercepted.

THIS unexpected diſappointment proved fatal to the party. In mere deſpair, ſome of the more zealous attempted to aſſault Leith, but the French beat them back with diſgrace, ſeized their cannon, and purſuing them to the gates of Edinburgh, were on the point of entering along with them. All the terror and confuſion, which the proſpect of pillage or of maſſacre can excite in a place

* Knox, 214. Keith, Append. 44.

taken

Book III. 1559. taken by ſtorm, filled the city on this occaſion. The inhabitants fled from the enemy by the oppoſite gate; the forces of the Congregation were irreſolute and diſmayed; and the Queen's partizans in the town openly inſulted both. At laſt, a few of the nobles ventured to face the enemy, who, after plundering ſome houſes in the ſuburbs, retired with their booty, and delivered the city from this dreadful alarm.

A Second ſkirmiſh, which happened a few days after, was no leſs unfortunate. The French ſent out a detachment to intercept a convoy of proviſions which was deſigned for Edinburgh. The Lords of the Congregation, having intelligence of this, marched in all haſte with a conſiderable body of their troops, and falling upon the enemy between Reſtalrig and Leith, with more gallantry than good conduct, were almoſt ſurrounded by a ſecond party of French, who advanced in order to ſupport their own men. In this ſituation, a retreat was the only thing which could ſave the Scots; but a retreat over marſhy ground, and in the face of an enemy ſuperior in number, could not long be conducted with order. A ſmall body of the enemy hung upon their rear, horſe and foot fell into the utmoſt confuſion, and it was entirely owing to the caution of the French, that any of the party eſcaped being cut in pieces.

They retire from Leith in confuſion.

On this ſecond blow, the hopes and ſpirits of the Congregation ſunk altogether. They did not think themſelves ſecure, even within the walls of Edinburgh, but inſtantly determined to retire to ſome place at a greater diſtance from the enemy. In vain did the Prior of St. Andrew's and a few others oppoſe this cowardly and ignominious flight. The dread of the preſent danger prevailed over both the ſenſe of honour, and zeal for the cauſe. At midnight,

night, they ſet out from Edinburgh, in great confuſion, and marched without halting till they arrived at Stirling. BOOK III. 1559. November 6.

DURING this laſt inſurrection, the great body of the Scottiſh nobility joined the Congregation. The Lords Seton and Borthwick were the only perſons of rank who took arms for the Queen, and aſſiſted her in defending Leith *. Bothwell openly favoured her cauſe, but reſided at his own houſe. The Earl of Huntly, conformable to the crafty policy which diſtinguiſhes his character, amuſed the leaders of the Congregation, whom he had engaged to aſſiſt, with many fair promiſes, but never joined them with a ſingle man †. The Earl of Morton, a member of the Congregation, fluctuated in a ſtate of irreſolution, and did not act heartily for the common cauſe. Lord Erſkine, Governor of Edinburgh caſtle, though a Proteſtant, maintained a neutrality, which he eſteemed becoming the dignity of his office; and having been entruſted by Parliament with the command of the principal fortreſs in the kingdom, he reſolved that neither faction ſhould get it into their hands.

A FEW days before the retreat of the Congregation, the Queen ſuffered an irreparable loſs by the defection of her principal Secretary, William Maitland of Lethington. His zeal for the Reformed religion, together with his warm remonſtrances againſt the violent meaſures which the Queen was carrying on, expoſed him ſo much to her reſentment, and to that of her French Counſellors, that he, ſuſpecting his life to be in danger, withdrew ſecretly from Leith, and fled to the Lords of the Congregation ‡; and they, with open arms, re- Maitland revolts from the Queen Dowager.

* Keith, Append. 31. † Ibid. Append. 33. Knox, 222. ‡ Knox 192.

ceived

Book III. 1559. ceived a convert, whoſe abilities added both ſtrength and reputation to their cauſe. Maitland had early applied to public buſineſs admirable natural talents, improved by an acquaintance with the liberal arts; and, at a time of life, when his countrymen of the ſame quality were following the pleaſures of the chace, or ſerving as adventurers in foreign armies, he was admitted into all the ſecrets of the cabinet, and put upon a level with perſons of the moſt conſummate experience in the management of affairs. He poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree, that intrepid ſpirit, which delights in purſuing bold deſigns, and was no leſs maſter of that political art and dexterity which is neceſſary for carrying them on with ſucceſs. But theſe qualities were deeply tinctured with the neighbouring vices. His addreſs ſometimes degenerated into cunning; his acuteneſs bordered upon exceſs of ſubtlety and refinement; his invention, over fertile, ſuggeſted to him, on ſome occaſions, chimerical ſyſtems of policy, little ſuitable to the genius of the age; and his enterpriſing ſpirit engaged him in projects vaſt and ſplendid, but beyond his utmoſt power to execute. All the cotemporary writers, to whatever faction they belong, mention him with an admiration, which nothing could have excited but the greateſt ſuperiority of penetration and abilities.

The precipitate retreat of the Congregation increaſed, to ſuch a degree, the terror and confuſion which had ſeized them at Edinburgh, that before they reached Stirling, their army dwindled to an inconſiderable number. The ſpirit of Knox, however, ſtill remained undaunted and erect, and having mounted the pulpit, he addreſſed to his deſponding hearers, an exhortation which wonderfully animated and revived them. The heads of this diſcourſe are inſerted

inſerted in his hiſtory *, and afford a ſtriking example of the boldneſs and freedom of reproof aſſumed by the firſt Reformers, as well as a ſpecimen of his own ſkill in chuſing the topics moſt fitted to influence and rouze his audience. BOOK III. 1559.

A MEETING of the leaders being called, to conſider what courſe they ſhould hold, now that their own reſources were all exhauſted, and their deſtruction appeared to be unavoidable, without foreign aid; they turned their eyes once more to England, and reſolved to implore the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth towards finiſhing an enterprize, in which they had ſo fatally experienced their own weakneſs, and the ſtrength of their adverſaries. Maitland, as the moſt able negociator of the party, was employed in this embaſſy. In his abſence, and during the inactive ſeaſon of the year, it was agreed to diſmiſs their followers, worn out by the fatigues of a campaign, which had ſo far exceeded the time of ſervice uſual in that age. But, in order to preſerve the counties moſt devoted to their intereſt, the Prior of St. Andrew's, with part of the leaders, retired into Fife. The Duke of Chatelherault, with the reſt, fixed his reſidence at Hamilton. There was little need of Maitland's addreſs or eloquence to induce Elizabeth to take his country under her protection. She obſerved the prevalence of the French counſels, and the progreſs of their arms in Scotland, with great concern; and as ſhe well foreſaw the dangerous tendency of their ſchemes in that kingdom, ſhe had already come to a reſolution with regard to the part ſhe herſelf would act, if their power there ſhould grow ſtill more formidable. The Lords of the Congregation apply again to Elizabeth.

* Knox, 193.

Book III. 1559. Motives which determined her to aſſiſt them.

In order to give the Queen and her Privy Council a full and diſtinct view of any important matter which might come before them, it ſeems to have been the practice of Elizabeth's Miniſters to prepare memorials, in which they clearly ſtated the point under deliberation, laid down the grounds of the conduct, which they held to be moſt reaſonable, and propoſed a method for carrying their plan into execution. Two papers of this kind, written by Sir William Cecil with his own hand, ſtill remain*; they are intitled, "A ſhort diſcuſſion of the weighty matter of Scotland," and do honour to the induſtry and penetration of that great Miniſter. The motives, which determined the Queen to eſpouſe ſo warmly the defence of the Congregation, are repreſented with perſpicuity and force; and the conſequences of ſuffering the French to eſtabliſh themſelves in Scotland, are predicted with great accuracy and diſcernment.

He lays it down as a principle, agreeable to the laws both of God and of nature, that every ſociety hath a right to defend itſelf, not only from preſent dangers, but from ſuch as may probably enſue; to which, he adds, that nature and reaſon teach every Prince to defend himſelf by the ſame means, which his adverſaries employ to diſtreſs him. Upon theſe grounds, he eſtabliſhes the right of England to interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland, and to prevent the conqueſt of that kingdom, at which the French openly aimed. The French, he obſerves, are the ancient and implacable enemies of England. Hoſtilities had ſubſiſted between the two nations for many centuries. No treaty of peace, into which they entered, had ever been cordial or ſincere. No good effect was therefore to be expected from

* Burn. vol. iii. Append. 283. Keith, Append. 24.

the

the peace lately agreed upon, which being extorted by preſent neceſſity, would be negligently obſerved, and broken on the ſlighteſt pretences. In a very ſhort time, France would recover its former opulence; and though now drained of men and money by a tedious and unſucceſsful war, it would quickly be in a condition for acting, and the reſtleſs and martial genius of the people would render action neceſſary. The Princes of Lorrain, who at that time had the entire direction of French affairs, were animated with the moſt virulent hatred againſt the Engliſh nation. They openly called in queſtion the legitimacy of the Queen's birth, and by advancing the title and pretenſions of their niece the Queen of Scotland, ſtudied to deprive Elizabeth of her Crown. With this view, they had laboured to exclude the Engliſh from the treaty of Chateau en Cambreſis, and endeavoured to conclude a ſeparate peace with Spain. They had perſuaded Henry II. to permit his daughter-in-law to aſſume the title and arms of Queen of England; and even ſince the concluſion of the peace, they had ſollicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth to be illegitimate. And though the wiſdom and moderation of the Conſtable Montmorency had, for ſome time, checked their career, yet theſe reſtraints being now removed by the death of Henry II. and the diſgrace of his Miniſter, the utmoſt exceſſes of violence were to be dreaded from their furious ambition, armed with ſovereign power. Scotland is the quarter, whence they can attack England with moſt advantage. A war on the borders of that country expoſes France to no danger, but one unſucceſsful action there may hazard the Crown, and overturn the government of England. In political conduct, it is childiſh to wait till the deſigns of an enemy be ripe for execution. The Scottiſh nobles, after their utmoſt efforts, have been obliged to quit the field; and far from expelling the invaders of their li-

BOOK III. 1559.

Book III. 1559. berties, they behold the French power daily increaſing, and muſt at laſt ceaſe from ſtruggling any longer in a conteſt ſo unequal. The invading of England will immediately follow the reduction of the Scottiſh malecontents, by the abandoning of whom to the mercy of the French, Elizabeth will open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expoſe it to the calamities of war, and the danger of conqueſt. Nothing therefore remained but to meet the enemy while yet at a diſtance from England, and by ſupporting the Congregation with a powerful army, to render Scotland the theatre of the war, to cruſh the deſigns of the Princes of Lorrain in their infancy, and, by ſuch an early and unexpected effort, to expel the French out of Britain, before their power had time to take root, and grow up to any formidable height. But as the matter was of as much importance, as any which could fall under the conſideration of an Engliſh Monarch, wiſdom and mature counſel were neceſſary in the firſt place, and afterwards vigour and expedition in conduct; the danger was urgent, and, by loſing a ſingle moment, might become unavoidable *.

These arguments produced their full effect upon Elizabeth, who was jealous, in an extreme degree, of every pretender to her Crown, and no leſs anxious to preſerve the tranquillity and happineſs of her ſubjects. From theſe motives ſhe had acted, in granting the Congregation an early ſupply of money; and from the ſame principles ſhe determined, in their preſent exigency, to afford them more effectual aid. One of Maitland's attendants was inſtantly diſpatched into Scotland with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of her protection, and the Lords of the Congregation were deſired to ſend commiſſioners into

* The arguments which the Scots employed, in order to obtain Elizabeth's aſſiſtance, are urged with great force, in a paper of Maitland's. See Appendix, No. II.

England,

England, to conclude a treaty, and to ſettle the operations of the campaign, with the Duke of Norfolk *. BOOK III. 1559.

MEAN while, the Queen Regent, from whom no motion of the Congregation could long be concealed, dreaded the ſucceſs of this negotiation with the court of England, and foreſaw how little ſhe would be able to reſiſt the united effort of the two kingdoms. For this reaſon ſhe determined, if poſſible, to get the ſtart of Elizabeth; and by venturing, notwithſtanding the inclemency of the winter ſeaſon, to attack the malecontents in their preſent diſperſed and helpleſs ſituation, ſhe hoped to put an end to the war, before the arrival of their Engliſh allies. The Queen Dowager mean while ſends her French troops againſt them.

A CONSIDERABLE body of her French forces, who were augmented, about this time, by the arrival of the Count de Martigues, with a thouſand veteran foot, and ſome cavalry, were commanded to march to Stirling. Having there croſſed the Forth, they proceeded along the coaſt of Fife, deſtroying and plundering, with exceſſive outrage, the houſes and lands of thoſe whom they eſteemed their enemies. Fife was the moſt populous and powerful county in the kingdom, and moſt devoted to the Congregation, who had hitherto drawn from thence their moſt conſiderable ſupplies, both of men and proviſions; and therefore, beſides puniſhing the diſaffection of the inhabitants, by pillaging the country, the French propoſed to ſeize and fortify St. Andrew's, and to leave in it a garriſon ſufficient to bridle the mutinous ſpirit of the province, and to keep poſſeſſion of a port ſituated on the main ocean.

* Keith, 114.

BUT

Book III. 1559. But on this occaſion, the Prior of St. Andrew's, Lord Ruthven, Kirkaldy of Grange, and a few of the moſt active leaders of the Congregation, performed, by their bravery and good conduct, a ſervice of the utmoſt importance to their party. Having aſſembled ſix hundred horſe, they infeſted the French with continual incurſions, beat up their quarters, intercepted their convoys of proviſions, cut off their ſtraggling parties, and ſo harraſſed them with perpetual alarms, that they prevented them for more than three weeks from advancing *.

1560. At laſt the Prior, with his feeble party, was conſtrained to retire, and the French ſet out from Kirkaldy, and began to move along the coaſt towards St. Andrew's. They had advanced but a few miles, when from an eminence they deſcried a powerful fleet ſteering its courſe up the Firth of Forth. As they knew that the Marquis D'Elbeuf was, at that time, preparing to ſail for Scotland with a numerous army, they haſtily concluded that theſe ſhips belonged to him, and gave way to the moſt immoderate tranſports of joy, on the proſpect of this long-expected ſuccour. Their great guns were already fired to welcome their friends, and to ſpread the tidings and terror of their arrival among their enemies, when a ſmall boat from the oppoſite coaſt landed, and blaſted their premature and ſhort-lived triumph, by informing them, that it was the fleet of England which was in ſight, intended for the aid of the Congregation, and was ſoon to be followed by a formidable land army †.

January 23.

The Engliſh fleet arrives to their aſſiſtance.

Throughout her whole reign, Elizabeth was cautious, but deciſive; and by her promptitude in executing her reſolutions, joined

* Knox, 202. † Knox, 203.

to

to the deliberation with which ſhe formed them, her adminiſtration became remarkable, no leſs for its vigour, than for its wiſdom. No ſooner did ſhe determine to afford her protection to the Lords of the Congregation, than they experienced the activity, as well as the extent of her power. The ſeaſon of the year would not permit her land army to take the field; but leſt the French ſhould, in the mean time, receive new reinforcements, ſhe inſtantly ordered a ſtrong ſquadron to cruize in the Firth of Forth. She ſeems, by her inſtructions to Winter her Admiral, to have been deſirous of preſerving the appearances of friendſhip towards the French*. But theſe were only appearances; if any French fleet ſhould attempt to land, he was commanded to prevent it, by every act of hoſtility and violence. It was the ſight of this ſquadron, which occaſioned at firſt ſo much joy among the French, but which ſoon inſpired them with ſuch terror, as ſaved Fife from the effects of their vengeance. Apprehenſive of being cut off from their companions on the oppoſite ſhore, they retreated towards Stirling with the utmoſt precipitation, and, in a dreadful ſeaſon, and through roads almoſt impaſſable, arrived at Leith, haraſſed and exhauſted with fatigue †. 1560.

THE Engliſh fleet caſt anchor in the road of Leith, and continuing in that ſtation till the concluſion of peace, both prevented the garriſon of Leith from receiving ſuccours of any kind, and conſiderably facilitated the operations of their own forces by land.

SOON after the arrival of the Engliſh ſquadron, the Commiſſioners of the Congregation repaired to Berwick, and concluded with the Duke of Norfolk, a treaty, the bond of that union with Eliza- They conclude a peace with England, February 27.

* Keith, Appendix 45. † Knox, 203.

beth,

Book III. 1560. beth, which was of ſo great advantage to the cauſe. To give a check to the dangerous and rapid progreſs of the French arms in Scotland, was the profeſſed deſign of the contracting parties. In order to this, the Scots engaged never to ſuffer any cloſer union of their country with France; and to defend themſelves to the uttermoſt againſt all attempts of conqueſt; and for their aſſiſtance, Elizabeth promiſed to employ, in Scotland, a powerful army, which the Scots undertook to join with all their forces; no place in Scotland was to remain in the hands of the Engliſh; whatever ſhould be taken from the enemy was either to be razed, or kept by the Scots, at their choice; if any invaſion ſhould be made upon England, the Scots were obliged to aſſiſt Elizabeth with part of their forces; and to aſcertain their faithful obſervance of the treaty, they bound themſelves to deliver hoſtages to Elizabeth, before the march of her army into Scotland; in concluſion, the Scots made many proteſtations of obedience and loyalty towards their own Queen, in every thing not inconſiſtent with their religion, and the liberties of their country *.

The Engliſh army lays ſiege to Leith.

April 2. THE Engliſh army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, under the command of Lord Grey of Wilton, entered Scotland early in the ſpring. The members of the Congregation aſſembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with great multitudes of their followers, they advanced together towards Leith. The French were little able to keep the field againſt an enemy ſo much ſuperior in number. A ſtrong body of troops, deſtined for their relief, had been ſcattered by a violent ſtorm, and had either periſhed on

* Knox, 217.

the

the coaſt of France, or with difficulty had recovered the ports of that kingdom *. But they hoped to be able to defend Leith, till the Princes of Lorrain ſhould make good the magnificent promiſes of aſſiſtance, with which they daily encouraged them; or till ſcarcity of proviſions ſhould conſtrain the Engliſh to retire into their own country. In order to haſten this latter event, they did not neglect the uſual, though barbarous precaution for diſtreſſing an invading enemy, by burning and laying waſte all the adjacent country †. The zeal, however, of the nation fruſtrated their intentions; eager to contribute towards removing their oppreſſors, the people produced their hidden ſtores to ſupport their friends; the neighbouring counties ſupplied every thing neceſſary, and far from wanting ſubſiſtence, the Engliſh found, in their camp, all ſorts of proviſions, at a cheaper rate, than had for ſome time been known in that part of the kingdom ‡.

1560.

On the approach of the Engliſh army, the Queen Regent retired into the caſtle of Edinburgh. Her health was now in a declining ſtate, and her mind broken and depreſſed by the misfortunes of her adminiſtration. To avoid the danger and fatigue of a ſiege, ſhe committed herſelf to the protection of Lord Erſkine. This nobleman ſtill preſerved his neutrality, and by his integrity and love of his country, merited equally the eſteem of both parties. He received the Queen herſelf with the utmoſt honour and reſpect, but took care to admit no ſuch retinue, as might endanger his command of the caſtle ||.

* Mem. de Caſtel. 450. † Knox, 225.
‡ Knox, ibid. || Forbes Collect. vol. 1. 503. Keith, 122.

Book III. 1560. April 6. A Few days after they arrived in Scotland, the Engliſh inveſted Leith. The garriſon, ſhut up within the town, was almoſt half as numerous as the army which ſat down before it, and by an obſtinate defence protracted the ſiege to a great length. The circumſtances of this ſiege, related by cotemporary hiſtorians, men without knowledge or experience in the art of war, are often obſcure and imperfect, and at this diſtance of time are not conſiderable enough to be entertaining.

April 15. At firſt the French endeavoured to keep poſſeſſion of the Hawk Hill, a riſing ground not far diſtant from the town, but were beat from it with great ſlaughter, chiefly by the furious attack of the Scottiſh cavalry. Within a few days, the French had their full revenge; having ſallied out with a ſtrong body, they entered the Engliſh trenches, broke their troops, nailed part of their cannon, and killed at leaſt double the number themſelves had loſt in the former ſkirmiſh. Nor were the Engliſh more fortunate in an at-

May 7. tempt which they made to take the place by aſſault; they were met with equal courage, and repulſed with conſiderable loſs. From the detail of theſe circumſtances by the writers of that age, it is eaſy to obſerve the different characters of the French and Engliſh troops. The former, trained to war, under the active reigns of Francis I. and Henry II. defended themſelves not only with the bravery, but with the ſkill of veterans. The latter, who had been more accuſtomed to peace, ſtill preſerved the intrepid and deſperate valour peculiar to the nation, but diſcovered few marks of military genius, or of experience in the practice of war. Every misfortune or diſappointment during the ſiege muſt be imputed to manifeſt errors in conduct. The ſucceſs of the beſieged in their ſally was owing intirely to the ſecurity and negligence of the Engliſh: many of their officers were abſent; their ſoldiers

had left their ſtations; and the trenches were almoſt without a guard. The ladders, which had been provided for the aſſault, wanted a great deal of the neceſſary length; and the troops employed in that ſervice were ill ſupported. The trenches were opened, at firſt, in an improper place; and as it was found expedient to change the ground, both time and labour were loſt. The weakneſs of their own Generals, no leſs than the ſtrength of the French garriſon, rendered the progreſs of the Engliſh wonderfully ſlow. The length, however, of the ſiege, and the loſs of part of their magazines by an accidental fire, reduced the French to extreme diſtreſs, which the proſpect of relief made them bear with admirable fortitude. BOOK III. 1560.

WHILE the hopes and courage of the French protracted the ſiege ſo far beyond expectation, the leaders of the Congregation were not idle. By new aſſociations and confederacies, they laboured more perfectly to unite their party. By publicly ratifying the treaty concluded at Berwick, they endeavoured to render the alliance with England firm and indiſſoluble. Among the ſubſcribers of theſe papers, we find the Earl of Huntly, and ſome others who had not hitherto concurred with the Congregation in any of their meaſures *. Several of theſe Lords, particularly the Earl of Huntly, ſtill adhered to the Popiſh church; but on this occaſion, neither their religious ſentiments, nor their former cautious maxims, were regarded; the torrent of national reſentment and indignation againſt the French hurried them on †.

THE

* Burn. vol. iii. 287. Knox, 221.

† The dread of the French power did, on many occaſions, ſurmount the zeal, which the Catholic nobles had for their religion. Beſides the preſumptive evidence

BOOK III. THE Queen Regent, the inſtrument, rather than the cauſe of involving Scotland in thoſe calamities, under which it groaned at that time, died during the heat of the ſiege. No Princeſs ever poſſeſſed qualities more capable of rendering her adminiſtration illuſtrious, or her people happy. Of much diſcernment, and no leſs addreſs; of great intrepidity, and equal prudence; gentle and humane, without weakneſs; zealous for her religion, without bigotry; a lover of juſtice, without rigour. One circumſtance, however, and that, too, the exceſs of a virtue, rather than any vice, poiſoned all theſe great qualities, and rendered her government unfortunate, and her name odious. Devoted to the intereſt of France, her native country, and attached to the Princes of Lorrain her brothers, with moſt paſſionate fondneſs; ſhe departed, in order to gratify them, from every maxim, which her own wiſdom or humanity would have approved. She outlived, in a great meaſure, that reputation and popularity, which had ſmoothed her way to the higheſt ſtation in the kingdom; and many examples of falſhood, and ſome of ſeverity, in the latter part of her adminiſtration, totally alienated from her the affections of a people, who had once placed in her an unbounded confidence. But, even by her enemies, theſe unjuſtifiable actions were imputed to the facility, not to the malignity of her nature; and while they taxed her brothers, and French counſellors, with raſhneſs and cruelty; they ſtill allowed her the praiſe of prudence

1560. Death and character of the Queen Dowager. June 10.

for this, ariſing from the memorial mentioned by Burnet, Hiſt. of the Reformation, vol iii. 281, and publiſhed by him p. 278; the inſtructions of Elizabeth to Randolph her agent, put it beyond all doubt, that many zealous Papiſts thought the alliance with England to be neceſſary for preſerving the liberty and independence of the kingdom. Keith, 158. Huntly himſelf began a correſpondence with Elizabeth's Miniſters, before the march of the Engliſh army into Scotland. Haynes State Papers, 261, 263. See Append. N° III.

and

and of lenity *. A few days before her death, ſhe deſired an interview with the Prior of St. Andrew's, the Earl of Argyll, and other chiefs of the Congregation. To them ſhe lamented the fatal iſſue of thoſe violent councils, which ſhe had been obliged to follow; and, with the candour natural to a generous mind, confeſſed the errors of her own adminiſtration, and begged forgiveneſs of thoſe, to whom they had been hurtful; but, at the ſame time, ſhe warned them, amidſt their ſtruggles for liberty, and the ſhock of arms, not to loſe ſight of the loyalty and ſubjection, which was due to their Sovereign †. The remainder of her time, ſhe employed in religious meditations and exerciſes. She even invited the attendance of Willox, one of the moſt eminent among the Reformed preachers, liſtened to his inſtructions with reverence and attention ‡, and prepared for the approach of death with a decent fortitude. BOOK III. 1560.

NOTHING could now ſave the French troops, ſhut up in Leith, but the immediate concluſion of a peace, or the arrival of a powerful army from the continent. The Princes of Lorrain amuſed their party in Scotland, with continual expectations of the latter, and had thereby kept alive their hopes and their courage. But at laſt, the ſituation of France, rather than the terror of the Engliſh arms, or the remonſtrances of the Scottiſh malecontents, conſtrained them, though with reluctance, to turn their thoughts towards pacific councils. The Proteſtants in France were, at that time, a party formidable by their number, and more by the valour and enterpriſing genius of their leaders. Francis II. had treated them with extreme rigour, and diſcovered, by every ſtep he took, a ſettled reſolution to extirpate their religion, and to ruin thoſe who profeſſed it. At the pro- Motives of the French to conclude a peace.

* Buchan. 324. † Leſly, de Rebus Geſt. Scot. 222. ‡ Knox. 228.

Book III. 1560.

ſpect of this danger to themſelves, and to their cauſe, the Proteſtants were alarmed, but not terrified. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with reſentment, they not only prepared for their own defence, but reſolved, by ſome bold action, to anticipate the ſchemes of their enemies. And as the Princes of Lorrain were eſteemed the authors of all the King's violent meaſures, they marked them out, to be the firſt victims of their indignation. Hence, and not from any diſloyalty to the King, proceeded the famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe; and though the vigilance and good fortune of the Princes of Lorrain diſcovered and diſappointed that deſign, it was eaſy to obſerve new ſtorms gathering in every province of the Kingdom, and ready to burſt out with all the fury and outrage of civil war. In this ſituation, the ambition of the houſe of Lorrain was called off from the thoughts of foreign conqueſts, to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown; and inſtead of ſending new reinforcements into Scotland, it became neceſſary to withdraw the veteran troops already employed in that kingdom *.

March 15.

The negociations for that purpoſe.

In order to conduct an affair of ſo much importance and delicacy, the Princes of Lorrain made choice of Monluc Biſhop of Valence, and of the Sieur de Randan. As both theſe, eſpecially the former, were reckoned inferior to no perſons of that age, in addreſs and political refinement; Elizabeth oppoſed to them Ambaſſadors of equal abilities; Cecil her Prime Miniſter, a man perhaps of the greateſt capacity who had ever held that office; and Wotton Dean of Canterbury, grown old in the art of negociating under three ſucceſſive Monarchs. The intereſts of the French and Engliſh courts were ſoon adjuſted by men of ſo great dexterity in buſineſs; and as

* Leſly, 224.

France

France eaſily conſented to withdraw thoſe forces, which had been the chief occaſion of the war; the other points in diſpute, between that kingdom and England, were not matters of tedious, or of difficult diſcuſſion. Book III. 1560.

The grievances of the Congregation, and their demands upon their own Sovereigns for redreſs, employed longer time, and required to be treated with a more delicate hand. After ſo many open attempts, carried on by command of the King and Queen, in order to overturn the ancient conſtitution, and to ſuppreſs the religion which they had embraced, the Scottiſh nobles could not think themſelves ſecure, without fixing ſome new barrier againſt the future encroachments of regal power. But the legal ſteps towards accompliſhing this were not ſo obvious. The French ambaſſadors conſidered the entering into any treaty with ſubjects, and with rebels, as a condeſcenſion, unworthy the dignity of a Sovereign; and their ſcruples on this head might have put an end to the treaty, if the impatience of both parties for peace had not ſuggeſted an expedient, which ſeemed to provide for the ſecurity of the ſubject, without derogating from the honour of the Prince. The Scottiſh nobles agreed, on this occaſion, to paſs from the point of right and privilege, and to accept the redreſs of their grievances, as a matter of favour. Whatever additional ſecurity their anxiety for perſonal ſafety, or their zeal for public liberty, prompted them to demand, was granted in the name of Francis and Mary, as acts of their royal favour and indulgence. And leſt conceſſions of this kind ſhould ſeem precarious, and liable to be retracted by the ſame power, which had made them, the French Ambaſſador agreed to inſert them in the treaty with Elizabeth, and thereby to bind the King and Queen inviolably to obſerve them *. Articles of the treaty.

* Keith, 134, &c.

In

Book III. 1560. In relating this tranſaction, cotemporary hiſtorians have confounded the conceſſions of Francis and Mary to their Scottiſh ſubjects, with the treaty between France and England; the latter, beſides the ratification of former treaties between the two kingdoms, and ſtipulations with regard to the time and manner of removing both armies out of Scotland, contained an article, to which, as the ſource of many important events, we ſhall often have occaſion to refer. The right of Elizabeth to her crown is, thereby, acknowledged in the ſtrongeſt terms; and Francis and Mary ſolemnly engage, neither to aſſume the title, nor to bear the arms of King and Queen of England, in any time to come.

July 6. Honourable as this article was for Elizabeth herſelf, the conditions ſhe obtained for her allies the Scotch were no leſs advantageous to them. Monluc and Randan conſented, in the name of Francis and Mary, that the French forces in Scotland ſhould inſtantly be ſent back into their own country, and no foreign troops be hereafter introduced into the kingdom, without the knowledge and conſent of Parliament; that the fortifications of Leith and Dunbar ſhould immediately be razed, and no new fort be erected without the permiſſion of Parliament; that a Parliament ſhould be held on the firſt day of Auguſt, and that aſſembly be deemed as valid, in all reſpects, as if it had been called by the expreſs commandment of the King and Queen; that, conformable to the ancient laws and cuſtoms of the country, the King and Queen ſhould not declare war, or conclude peace, without the concurrence of Parliament; that, during the Queen's abſence, the adminiſtration of government ſhould be veſted in a council of twelve perſons, to be choſen out of twenty-four named by Parliament, ſeven of which council to be elected by the Queen, and five by the Parliament; that,

that hereafter, the King and Queen ſhould not advance foreigners to places of truſt or dignity in the kingdom, nor confer the offices of Treaſurer or Comptroller of the revenues upon any eccleſiaſtic; that an act of oblivion, aboliſhing the guilt and memory of all offences, committed ſince the 6th of March, 1558, ſhould be paſſed in the enſuing Parliament, and be ratified by the King and Queen; that the King and Queen ſhould not, under colour of puniſhing any violation of their authority during that period, ſeek to deprive any of their ſubjects of the offices, benefices, or eſtates which they now held; that the redreſs due to churchmen, for the injuries which they had ſuſtained during the late inſurrections, ſhould be left entirely to the cognizance of Parliament. With regard to religious controverſies, the Ambaſſadors declared that they would not preſume to decide, but permitted the Parliament, at their firſt meeting, to examine the points in difference, and to repreſent their ſenſe of them to the King and Queen *. BOOK III. 1560.

To ſuch a memorable period, did the Lords of the Congregation, by their courage and perſeverance, conduct an enterprize, which, at firſt, promiſed a very different iſſue. From beginnings extremely feeble, and even contemptible, the party grew by degrees to great power; and being favoured by many fortunate incidents, baffled all the efforts of their own Queen, aided by the forces of a more conſiderable kingdom. The whole ſovereign authority was transferred, by this treaty, into the hands of the Congregation; that limited prerogative, which the Crown had hitherto poſſeſſed, was almoſt entirely annihilated; and the ariſtocratical power, which always predominated in the Scottiſh government, became ſupreme The effects of it.

* Keith, 137, &c.

Book III. 1560. and incontroulable. By this treaty, too, the influence of France, which had long been of much weight in the affairs of Scotland, was greatly diminiſhed, and not only were the preſent incroachments of that ambitious ally reſtrained, but, by confederating with England, protection was provided againſt any future attempt from the ſame quarter. At the ſame time, the controverſies in religion being left to the conſideration of Parliament, the Proteſtants might reckon upon obtaining whatever deciſion was moſt favourable to the opinions which they profeſſed.

A few days after the concluſion of the treaty, both the French and Engliſh armies quitted Scotland.

A Parliament held.

The eyes of every man in that kingdom were turned towards the approaching Parliament. A meeting, ſummoned in a manner ſo extraordinary, at ſuch a critical juncture, and to deliberate upon matters of ſo much conſequence, was expected with the utmoſt anxiety.

A Scottish Parliament, ſuitable to the ariſtocratical genius of the government, was properly an aſſembly of the nobles. It was compoſed of Biſhops, Abbots, Barons, and a few commiſſioners of burroughs, who met altogether in one houſe. The Leſſer Barons, though poſſeſſed of a right to be preſent, either in perſon, or by their repreſentatives, ſeldom exerciſed it. The expence of attending, according to the faſhion of the times, with a numerous train of vaſſals and dependants; the inattention of the age, to any legal or regular ſyſtem of government; but, above all, the exorbitant authority of the greater nobles, who had drawn the whole power into their own hands, made this privilege of ſo little value, as to be almoſt neglected.

neglected. It appears from the ancient rolls, that during times of tranquillity, few commiſſioners of burroughs, and almoſt none of the Leſſer Barons appeared in Parliament. The ordinary adminiſtration of government was abandoned without ſcruple or jealouſy, to the King and to the Greater Barons. But in extraordinary conjunctures, when the ſtruggle for liberty was violent, and the ſpirit of oppoſition to the Crown roſe to an height, the Burgeſſes and Leſſer Barons were rouzed from their inactivity, and ſtood forth to vindicate the rights of their country. The turbulent reign of James III. affords examples in proof of this obſervation *. The public indignation againſt the raſh deſigns of that weak and ill-adviſed Prince, brought into Parliament, beſides the Greater nobles and prelates, a conſiderable number of the Leſſer Barons. Book III. 1560.

THE ſame cauſes occaſioned the unuſual confluence of all orders of men to the Parliament, which met on the firſt of Auguſt. The univerſal paſſion for liberty, civil and religious, which had ſeized the nation, ſuffered few perſons to remain unconcerned ſpectators of an aſſembly, whoſe acts were likely to prove deciſive with reſpect to both. From all corners of the kingdom, flocked in men, eager and determined to aid, with their voices in the ſenate, the ſame cauſe, which they had defended with their ſwords in the field. Beſides a full convention of Peers, Temporal and Spiritual, there appeared the repreſentatives of almoſt all the burroughs, and above an hundred Barons, who, though of the leſſer order, were Gentlemen of the firſt rank and fortune in the nation †.

THE Parliament was ready to enter on buſineſs with the utmoſt zeal, when a difficulty was ſtarted concerning the lawfulneſs of the

* Keith, 147. † Ibid. 146.

Book III. 1560. meeting. No Commiſſioner appeared in the name of the King and Queen, and no ſignification of their conſent and approbation was yet received. Theſe were deemed, by many, eſſential to the very being of a Parliament. But, in oppoſition to this ſentiment, the expreſs words of the treaty of Edinburgh were urged, by which this aſſembly was declared to be as valid, in all reſpects, as if it had been called and appointed by the expreſs command of the King and Queen. As the adherents of the Congregation greatly outnumbered their adverſaries, the latter opinion prevailed. Their boldeſt leaders, and thoſe of moſt approved zeal, were choſen to be Lords of the Articles, who formed a committee of ancient uſe, and of great importance in the Scottiſh Parliament. The deliberations of the Lords of the Articles were carried on with the moſt unanimous and active zeal. The act of oblivion, the nomination of twenty-four perſons, out of whom the council, entruſted with ſupreme authority, was to be elected; and every other thing preſcribed by the late treaty, or which ſeemed neceſſary to render it effectual, paſſed without diſpute or delay. The article of religion employed longer time, and was attended with greater difficulty. It was brought into Parliament, by a petition from thoſe who had adopted the principles of the Reformation. Many doctrines of the Popiſh church were a contradiction to reaſon, and a diſgrace to religion; its diſcipline had become corrupt and oppreſſive; and its revenues were both exorbitant and ill applied. Againſt all theſe, the Proteſtants remonſtrated with the utmoſt ſeverity of ſtile, which indignation at their abſurdity, or experience of their pernicious tendency, could inſpire; and encouraged, by the number and zeal of their friends, to improve ſuch a favourable juncture, they aimed the blow at the whole fabric of Popery; and beſought the Parliament

Its proceedings with regard to religion.

ment to interpoſe their authority for rectifying theſe multiplied abuſes *. BOOK III. 1560.

SEVERAL prelates, zealouſly attached to the ancient ſuperſtition, were preſent in this Parliament. But during theſe vigorous proceedings of the Proteſtants, they ſtood confounded, and at a gaze, and perſevered in a ſilence which was fatal to their cauſe. They eſteemed it impoſſible to reſiſt or divert that torrent of religious zeal, which was ſtill in its full ſtrength; they dreaded that their oppoſition would irritate their adverſaries, and excite them to new acts of violence; they hoped that the King and Queen would ſoon be at leiſure to put a ſtop to the career of their inſolent ſubjects, and that, after the rage and havock of the preſent ſtorm, the former tranquillity and order would be reſtored to the church and kingdom. They were willing, perhaps, to ſacrifice the doctrine, and even the power of the church, in order to enſure the ſafety of their own perſons, and to preſerve the poſſeſſion of thoſe revenues, which were ſtill in their hands. From whatever motives they acted, their ſilence, which was imputed to the conſciouſneſs of a bad cauſe, afforded matter of great triumph to the Proteſtants, and encouraged them to proceed with more boldneſs and alacrity †.

THE Parliament did not think it enough to condemn thoſe doctrines mentioned in the petition of the Proteſtants; they, moreover, gave the ſanction of their approbation to a Confeſſion of Faith preſented to them by the Reformed teachers ‡, and compoſed, as might be expected from ſuch a performance at that juncture, on purpoſe to expoſe the abſurd tenets and practices of the Romiſh

* Knox, 237. † Ibid. 253. ‡ Id. ibid.

church.

Book III. 1560.

church. By another act, the juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts was aboliſhed, and the cauſes, which formerly came under their cognizance, transferred to the deciſions of civil judges *. By a third ſtatute, the exerciſe of religious worſhip, according to the rites of the Romiſh church, was prohibited. The manner in which the Parliament inforced the obſervation of this law diſcovers the zeal of that aſſembly; the firſt tranſgreſſion ſubjected the offender to the forfeiture of his goods, and to a corporal puniſhment, at the diſcretion of the judge; baniſhment was the penalty of a ſecond violation of the law; and a third act of diſobedience was declared to be capital †. Such ſtrangers were men, at that time, to the ſpirit of toleration, and to the laws of humanity; and with ſuch indecent haſte did the very perſons, who had juſt eſcaped the rigour of eccleſiaſtical tyranny, proceed to imitate thoſe examples of ſeverity, of which they themſelves had ſo juſtly complained.

With regard to the revenues of the church.

THE vigorous zeal of the Parliament overturned, in a few days, the ancient ſyſtem of religion, which had been eſtabliſhed ſo many ages. In reforming the doctrine and diſcipline of the church, the nobles kept pace with the ardor and expectations even of Knox himſelf. But their proceedings, with reſpect to theſe, were not more rapid and impetuous, than they were ſlow and dilatory when they entered on the conſideration of eccleſiaſtical revenues. Among the lay-members, ſome were already enriched with the ſpoils of the church, and others devoured in expectation the wealthy benefices which ſtill remained untouched. The alteration in religion had afforded many of the dignified eccleſiaſtics themſelves, an opportunity of gratifying their avarice or ambition. The demolition of the mo-

* Keith, 152. † Knox, 254.

naſteries,

ſteries, having ſet the Monks at liberty from their confinement, they inſtantly diſperſed all over the kingdom, and commonly betook themſelves to ſome ſecular employment. The Abbot, if he had been ſo fortunate as to embrace the principles of the Reformation from conviction, or ſo cunning as to eſpouſe them out of policy, ſeized the whole revenues of the fraternity, and, except what he allowed for the ſubſiſtence of a few ſuperannuated Monks *, applied them entirely to his own uſe. The propoſal, made by the Reformed teachers, for applying theſe revenues towards the maintenance of Miniſters, the education of youth, and the ſupport of the poor, was equally dreaded by all theſe orders of men. They oppoſed it with the utmoſt warmth, and by their numbers and authority, eaſily prevailed on the Parliament to give no ear to ſuch a diſagreeable demand †. Zealous as the firſt Reformers were, and animated with a ſpirit ſuperior to the low conſiderations of intereſt, they beheld theſe early ſymptoms of ſelfiſhneſs and avarice among their adherents, with indignation; and we find Knox expreſſing the utmoſt ſenſibility of that contempt, with which they were treated by many, from whom he expected a more generous concern for the ſucceſs of religion, and the honour of its Miniſters ‡.

The validity of this Parliament called in queſtion.

A DIFFICULTY hath been ſtarted, with regard to the acts of this Parliament, concerning religion. This difficulty, frivolous in itſelf, and at this diſtance of time of no importance, is founded on the words of the treaty of Edinburgh. By that, the Parliament was permitted to take into conſideration the ſtate of religion, and to ſignify their ſentiments of it to the King and Queen. But, inſtead of preſenting their deſires to their Sovereigns, in the humble form of a

* Keith, 496. Append. 190, 191. † See Append. Nº IV. ‡ Knox, 239, 256.

ſup-

Book III. 1560. ſupplication or addreſs, the Parliament converted them into ſo many acts; which, although they never received the royal aſſent, obtained, all over the kingdom, the weight and authority of laws. In compliance with their injunctions, the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem of religion was every where overthrown, and that recommended by the Reformers introduced in its place. The partiality and zeal of the people overlooked or ſupplied any defect in the form of theſe acts of Parliament, and rendered the obſervance of them more univerſal than ever had been yielded to the ſtatutes of the moſt regular or conſtitutional aſſembly. By thoſe proceedings, it muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the Parliament, or rather the nation, violated the laſt article in the treaty of Edinburgh, and even exceeded the powers which belong to ſubjects. But when once men have been accuſtomed to break through the common boundaries of ſubjection; and their minds are inflamed with the paſſions which civil war inſpire; it is mere pedantry or ignorance to meaſure their conduct by thoſe rules, which can be applied, only where government is in a ſtate of order and tranquillity. A nation, when obliged to employ ſuch extraordinary efforts in defence of its liberties, avails itſelf of every thing which can promote this great end; and the neceſſity of the caſe, and the importance of the object, juſtify any departure from the common and eſtabliſhed forms of the conſtitution.

Ambaſſadors ſent by the Parliament to France.

In conſequence of the treaty of Edinburgh, as well as by the ordinary forms of buſineſs, it became neceſſary to lay the proceedings of Parliament before the King and Queen. For this purpoſe, Sir James Sandilands of Calder Lord St. John, was appointed to repair to the court of France. After holding a courſe ſo irregular, the nobles had no reaſon to flatter themſelves that Francis and Mary would ever approve their conduct, or confirm it, by their royal

royal aſſent. The reception of their Ambaſſador was no other than they might have expected. He was treated by the King and Queen with the utmoſt coldneſs, and diſmiſſed without obtaining the ratification of the Parliament's proceedings. From the Princes of Lorrain and their partizans, he endured all the ſcorn and inſult, which it was natural for them to pour upon the party he repreſented *. Book III. 1560.

THOUGH the Earls of Morton, Glencairn, and Maitland of Lethington, the Ambaſſadors of the Parliament to Elizabeth their Protectreſs, met with a very different reception; they were not more ſucceſsful in one part of the negotiation intruſted to their care. The Scots, ſenſible of the ſecurity which they derived from their union with England, were deſirous of rendering it indiſſoluble. With this view, they empowered theſe eminent leaders of their party, to teſtify to Elizabeth their gratitude for that ſeaſonable and effectual aid which ſhe had afforded them, and at the ſame time, to beſeech her to render the friendſhip between the nations perpetual, by condeſcending to marry the Earl of Arran, who, though a ſubject, was nearly allied to the royal family of Scotland, and, after Mary, the undoubted heir to the Crown. And to Elizabeth.

To the former part of this commiſſion Elizabeth liſtened with the utmoſt ſatisfaction, and encouraged the Scots, in any future exigency, to hope for the continuance of her good offices; with regard to the latter, ſhe diſcovered thoſe ſentiments to which ſhe adhered throughout her whole reign. Averſe from marriage, as ſome pretend through choice, but more probably out of policy, that

* Knox, 255. Buch. 327.

Book III. 1560. ambitious Princeſs would never admit any partner to the throne; but delighted with the entire and uncontrolled exerciſe of power, ſhe ſacrificed to the enjoyment of that, the hopes of tranſmitting her Crown to her own poſterity. The marriage with the Earl of Arran could not be attended with any ſuch extraordinary advantage, as to ſhake this reſolution; ſhe declined it, therefore, but with many expreſſions of good-will towards the Scottiſh nation, and of reſpect for Arran himſelf *.

The death of Francis II.

TOWARDS the concluſion of this year, diſtinguiſhed by ſo many remarkable events, there happened one of great importance. On the 4th of December, died Francis II. a Prince of a feeble conſtitution, and of a mean underſtanding. As he did not leave any iſſue by the Queen, no incident could have been more fortunate to thoſe, who, during the late commotions in Scotland, had taken part with the Congregation. Mary, by the charms of her beauty, had acquired an entire aſcendant over her huſband; and as ſhe tranſferred all her influence to her uncles the Princes of Lorrain, Francis followed them implicitly in whatever track they were pleaſed to lead him. The power of France, under ſuch direction, alarmed the Scottiſh malcontents, with apprehenſions of danger, no leſs formidable, than well founded. The inteſtine diſorders which raged in France, and the ſeaſonable interpoſition of England in behalf of the Congregation, had hitherto prevented the Princes of Lorrain from carrying their deſigns upon Scotland into execution. But under their vigorous and deciſive adminiſtration, it was impoſſible that the commotions in France could be of long continuance, and many things might fall in to divert Elizabeth's attention, for the

* Burn. 3. Append. 308. Keith, 154, &c.

future,

future, from the affairs of Scotland. In either of theſe events, the Scots would ſtand expoſed to all the vengeance, which the reſentment of the French court could inflict. The blow, however long ſuſpended, was unavoidable, and muſt fall at laſt with redoubled weight. From this proſpect and expectation of danger, the Scots were delivered by the death of Francis; the ancient confederacy of the two kingdoms had already been broken, and by this event, the only bond of union which remained was diſſolved. Catherine of Medicis, who during the minority of Charles IX. her ſecond ſon, engroſſed the entire direction of the French councils, was far from any thoughts of vindicating the Scottiſh Queen's authority. Catherine and Mary had been rivals in power during the reign of Francis II. and had contended for the government of that weak and unexperienced Prince; but as the charms of the wife eaſily triumphed over the authority of the mother, Catherine could never forgive ſuch a diſappointment in her favourite paſſion, and beheld now, with ſecret pleaſure, the difficult and perplexing ſcene, on which her daughter-in-law was about to enter. Mary, overwhelmed with all the ſorrow which ſo ſad a reverſe of fortune could occaſion, ſlighted by the Queen mother *; and forſaken by the tribe of courtiers, who appear only in the ſunſhine of proſperity, retired to Rheims, and there, in ſolitude, indulged her grief, or hid her indignation. Even the Princes of Lorrain were obliged to contract their views; to turn them from foreign to domeſtic objects; and inſtead of forming vaſt projects with regard to Britain, found it neceſſary to think of acquiring, and eſtabliſhing an intereſt with the new adminiſtration.

Mary retires from the court of France.

* Henaut. 340. Caſteln. 454.

Book III. 1560. IT is impoſſible to deſcribe the emotions of joy, which, on all theſe accounts, the death of the French Monarch excited among the Scots. They regarded it as the only event, which could give firmneſs and ſtability to that ſyſtem of religion and government, which was now introduced; and it is no wonder cotemporary hiſtorians ſhould aſcribe it to the immediate care of Providence, which, by unforeſeen expedients, can ſecure the peace and happineſs of kingdoms, in thoſe ſituations, where human prudence and invention would utterly deſpair *.

Eſtabliſhment of Preſbyterian church-government. ABOUT this time, the Proteſtant church in Scotland began to aſſume a regular form. Its principles had obtained the ſanction of public authority, and ſome fixed external policy became neceſſary for the government and preſervation of the infant ſociety. The model introduced by the Reformers, differed extremely from that, which had been ſo long eſtabliſhed. The motives, which induced them to depart ſo far from the ancient ſyſtem, deſerve to be explained.

As the vices of the clergy had, at firſt, excited the indignation of mankind, and rouzed that ſpirit of inquiry, which proved ſo fatal to the whole Popiſh ſyſtem: as this diſguſt at the vices of eccleſiaſtics was ſoon transferred to their perſons, and ſhifting from them, by no violent tranſition, ſettled at laſt on the offices which they enjoyed; the effects of the Reformation would naturally have extended not only to the doctrine, but to the government of the Popiſh church; and the ſame ſpirit which aboliſhed the former, would have overturned the latter. But, in Germany, England,

* Knox, 259.

and the northern kingdoms, its operations were checked by the power and policy of their Princes; and the ancient Epiſcopal juriſdiction, under a few limitations, was ſtill continued in thoſe churches. The Epiſcopal hierarchy appears to be more conformable to the practice of the church, ſince Chriſtianity became the eſtabliſhed religion of the Roman empire. The eccleſiaſtical government was, at that time, plainly copied from the civil; the firſt not only borrowed its form, but derived its authority from the latter; and the dioceſes and juriſdictions of Patriarchs, Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, correſponded with the diviſion and conſtitution of the empire. In Switzerland, and the Low-countries, the nature of the government allowing full ſcope to the genius of the Reformation, all pre-eminence of order in the church was deſtroyed, and an equality eſtabliſhed more ſuitable to the ſpirit of republican policy. The ſituation of the primitive church ſuggeſted the idea, and furniſhed the model of the latter ſyſtem, which has ſince been called *Presbyterian*. The firſt Chriſtians, oppreſſed by continual perſecutions, and obliged to hold their religious aſſemblies by ſtealth, and in corners, were contented with a form of government extremely ſimple. The influence of religion concurred, with the ſenſe of danger, in extinguiſhing among them, the ſpirit of ambition, and in preſerving a parity of rank, the effect of their ſufferings, and the cauſe of many of their virtues. Calvin, whoſe deciſions were received, among the Proteſtants of that age, with incredible ſubmiſſion, was the patron and reſtorer of this ſcheme of eccleſiaſtical policy. The church of Geneva, formed under his eye, and by his direction, was eſteemed the moſt perfect model of this government; and Knox, who, during his reſidence in that city, had ſtudied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen.

Book III. 1560. Among the Scottiſh nobility, ſome hated the perſons, and others coveted the wealth of the dignified clergy; and by aboliſhing that order of men, the former indulged their reſentment, and the latter hoped to gratify their avarice. The people, inflamed with the moſt violent averſion to Popery, and approving of every ſcheme that departed fartheſt from the practice of the Romiſh church, were delighted with a ſyſtem, ſo admirably ſuited to their predominant paſſion. While the friends of civil liberty beheld, with pleaſure, the Proteſtant clergy pulling down, with their own hands, that fabric of eccleſiaſtical power, which their predeceſſors had reared with ſo much art and induſtry; and flattered themſelves, that by lending their aid to ſtrip churchmen of their dignity and wealth, they might entirely deliver the nation from their exorbitant and oppreſſive juriſdiction. The new mode of government eaſily made its way among men, thus prepared, by their various intereſts and paſſions, for its reception.

But, on the firſt introduction of his ſyſtem, Knox did not deem it expedient to depart altogether from the ancient form *. Inſtead of Biſhops, he propoſed to eſtabliſh ten or twelve Superintendants in different parts of the kingdom. Theſe, as the name implies, were impowered to inſpect the life and doctrine of the other clergy. They preſided in the inferior judicatories of the church, and performed ſeveral other parts of the Epiſcopal function. Their juriſdiction, however, extended to ſacred things only; they claimed no ſeat in Parliament, and pretended no right to the dignity, or revenues, of the former Biſhops.

* Spotſwood, 158.

THE number of inferior clergy, to whom the care of parochial duty could be committed, was ſtill extremely ſmall; they had embraced the principles of the Reformation at different times, and from various motives; during the public commotions, they were ſcattered, merely by chance, over the different provinces of the kingdom; and, in a few places only, were formed into regular claſſes or ſocieties. The firſt General Aſſembly of the church, which was held this year, bears all the marks of an infant and unformed ſociety. The members were but few in number, and of no conſiderable rank; no uniform or conſiſtent rule ſeems to have been obſerved in electing them. From a great part of the kingdom no repreſentatives appeared. In the name of ſome entire counties, but one perſon was preſent; while, in other places, a ſingle town or church ſent ſeveral members. A convention, ſo feeble and irregular, could poſſeſs no great authority; and conſcious of their own weakneſs, the members put an end to their debates, without venturing upon any deciſion of much importance *.

1560.

December 20.

IN order to give greater ſtrength and conſiſtence to the Preſbyterian plan, Knox, with the aſſiſtance of his brethren, compoſed the firſt book of diſcipline, which contains the model or platform of the intended policy †. They preſented it to a convention of eſtates, which was held in the beginning of this year. Whatever regulations were propoſed with regard to eccleſiaſtic diſcipline and juriſdiction, would have eaſily obtained the ſanction of that aſſembly; but a deſign to recover the patrimony of the church, which is there inſinuated, met with a very different reception.

1561.

January 15.

IN vain did the clergy diſplay the advantages which would accrue to the public, by a proper application of eccleſiaſtical revenues.

* Keith, 498. † Spotſwood, 152.

In

Book III. 1561. In vain did they propoſe, by an impartial diſtribution of this fund, to promote true religion, to encourage learning, and to ſupport the poor. In vain did they even intermingle threatnings of the divine diſpleaſure, againſt the unjuſt detainers of what was appropriated to a ſacred uſe. The nobles held faſt the prey, which they had ſeized; and beſtowing upon the propoſal, the name of a *devout imagination*, they affected to conſider it, as a project altogether viſionary, and treated it with the utmoſt ſcorn *.

The Queen invited to return into Scotland.

THIS convention appointed the Prior of St. Andrew's to repair to the Queen, and to invite her to return into her native country, and to aſſume the reins of government, which had been too long committed to other hands. And though ſome of her ſubjects dreaded her return, and others foreſaw dangerous conſequences with which it might be attended †, the bulk of them deſired it with ſo much ardour, that the invitation was given with the greateſt appearance of unanimity. But the zeal of the Roman Catholics got the ſtart of the Prior in paying court to Mary; and Leſly, afterwards biſhop of Roſs, who was commiſſioned by them, arrived before him, at the place of her reſidence ‡. Leſly endeavoured to infuſe into the Queen's mind ſuſpicions of her Proteſtant ſubjects, and to perſuade her to throw herſelf entirely into the arms of thoſe who adhered to her own religion. For this purpoſe, he inſiſted that ſhe ſhould land at Aberdeen; and as the Proteſtant doctrines had made no conſiderable progreſs in that part of the kingdom, he gave her aſſurance of being joined, in a few days, by 20,000 men; and flattered her, that with ſuch an army, encouraged by her preſence and authority, ſhe might eaſily overturn the Reformed Church, before it was firmly ſettled on its foundations.

* Knox, 256. † See Append. N° V. ‡ Leſly, 227.

BUT

BUT at this juncture, the Princes of Lorrain were not diſpoſed to liſten to this extravagant and dangerous propoſal. Intent on defending themſelves againſt Catherine of Medicis, whoſe inſidious policy was employed in undermining their exorbitant power, they had no leiſure to attend to the affairs of Scotland, and wiſhed their niece to take poſſeſſion of her kingdom, with as little diſturbance as poſſible. The French officers, too, who had ſerved in Scotland, diſſuaded Mary from all violent meaſures; and, by repreſenting the power and number of the Proteſtants to be irreſiſtible, determined her to court them by every art; and rather to employ the leading men of that party as her Miniſters, than to provoke them, by a fruitleſs oppoſition, to become her enemies *. Hence proceeded the confidence and affection, with which the Prior of St. Andrew's was received by the Queen. His repreſentation of the ſtate of the kingdom gained great credit; and Leſly beheld, with regret, the new channel in which court favour was likely to run. Book III. 1561.

ANOTHER Convention of the eſtates was held in May. The arrival of an Ambaſſador from France, ſeems to have been the occaſion of this meeting. He was inſtructed to ſollicit the Scots to renew their ancient alliance with France, to break their new confederacy with England, and to reſtore the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics to the poſſeſſion of their revenues, and the exerciſe of their functions. It is no eaſy matter to form any conjecture concerning the intentions of the French court, in making theſe extraordinary and ill-timed propoſitions. They were rejected with that ſcorn, which might well have been expected from the temper of the nation †.

* Melv. 61. † Knox, 269, 273.

Book III. 1561.

In this Convention, the Proteſtant clergy did not obtain a more favourable audience than formerly, and their proſpect of recovering the patrimony of the church ſtill remained as diſtant and uncertain as ever. But with regard to another point, they found the zeal of the nobles in no degree abated. The book of diſcipline ſeemed to require, that the monuments of Popery, which ſtill remained in the kingdom, ſhould be demoliſhed *. And, though neither the ſame pretence of policy, nor the ſame ungovernable rage of the people, remained to juſtify or excuſe this barbarous havock, the Convention, conſidering every religious fabric as a relict of idolatry, paſſed ſentence upon them by an act in form; and perſons, the moſt remarkable for the activity of their zeal, were appointed to put it in execution. Abbies, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the ſepulchres of the dead, periſhed in one common ruin. The firſt ſtorm of popular inſurrection, though impetuous and irreſiſtible, had extended only to a few counties, and ſoon ſpent its rage; but now a deliberate and univerſal rapine compleated the devaſtation of every thing, venerable and magnificent, which had eſcaped its violence †.

Mary begins to prepare for it.

In the mean time, Mary was in no haſte to return into Scotland. Accuſtomed to the elegance, ſplendor, and gaiety of a polite court, ſhe ſtill fondly lingered in France, the ſcene of all theſe enjoyments, and contemplated, with horror, the barbariſm of her own country, and the turbulence of her ſubjects, which preſented her with a very different face of things. The impatience, however, of her people, the perſuaſions of her uncles, but above all, the ſtudied and mortifying neglect, with which ſhe was treated by the

* Spotſwood, 153. † Ibid. 174.

Queen

Queen Mother, forced her to think of beginning this diſagreeable voyage *. But while ſhe was preparing for it, there were ſown between her and Elizabeth, the ſeeds of that perſonal jealouſy and diſcord, which imbittered the life, and ſhortened the days of the Scottiſh Queen. BOOK III. 1561.

THE ratification of the late treaty of Edinburgh was the immediate occaſion of this fatal animoſity; the true cauſes of it lay much deeper. Almoſt every article, in that treaty, had been executed by both parties, with a ſcrupulous exactneſs. The fortifications of Leith were demoliſhed, and the armies of France and England withdrawn within the appointed time. The grievances of the Scottiſh malecontents were redreſſed, and they had obtained whatever they could demand for their future ſecurity. With regard to all theſe, Mary could have little reaſon to decline, or Elizabeth to urge, the ratification of the treaty. Origin of the diſcord between her and Elizabeth.

THE ſixth article remained the only ſource of conteſt and difficulty. No Miniſter ever entered more deeply into the ſchemes of his Sovereign, or purſued them with more dexterity and ſucceſs than Cecil. In the conduct of the negociation at Edinburgh, the ſound underſtanding of this able politician had proved greatly an overmatch for Monluc's refinements in intrigue, and had artfully induced the French Ambaſſadors, not only to acknowledge that the Crowns of England and Ireland did of right belong to Elizabeth alone, but alſo to promiſe, that in all times to come, Mary ſhould abſtain from uſing the titles, or bearing the arms of thoſe kingdoms.

* Brantome, Jebb. vol. ii. 482.

Book III. 1561. THE ratification of this article would have been of the moſt fatal conſequence to Mary. The Crown of England was an object worthy of her ambition. Her pretenſions to it gave her great dignity and importance in the eyes of all Europe. By many, her title was eſteemed preferable to that of Elizabeth. Among the Engliſh themſelves, the Roman Catholics, who formed, at that time, a numerous and active party, openly eſpouſed this opinion; and even the Proteſtants, who ſupported Elizabeth's throne, could not deny the Queen of Scots to be her immediate heir. A proper opportunity to avail herſelf of all theſe advantages, could not, in the courſe of things, be far diſtant, and many incidents might fall in, to bring this opportunity nearer than was expected. In theſe circumſtances, Mary, by ratifying the article in diſpute, would have loſt that rank which ſhe had hitherto held among neighbouring Princes; the zeal of her adherents muſt have gradually cooled; and ſhe might have renounced, from that moment, all hopes of ever wearing the Engliſh Crown.

NONE of theſe beneficial conſequences eſcaped the penetrating eye of Elizabeth, who for this reaſon, had recourſe to every thing, by which ſhe could hope either to ſooth or frighten the Scottiſh Queen into a compliance with her demands. And if that Princeſs had been ſo unadviſed as to ratify the raſh conceſſions of her Ambaſſadors, Elizabeth, by that deed, would have acquired an advantage, which, under her management, muſt have turned to great account. By ſuch a renunciation, the queſtion, with regard to the right of ſucceſſion, would have been left altogether open and undecided; and, by means of that, Elizabeth might either have kept her rival in perpetual anxiety and dependance, or, by the authority of her Parliament, ſhe might have broken in upon the order

of

of lineal ſucceſſion, and transferred the Crown to ſome other de- BOOK III.
ſcendant of the royal blood. The former conduct ſhe obſerved 1561.
towards James VI. whom, during his whole reign, ſhe held in perpetual fear and ſubjection. The latter, and more rigorous method of proceeding, would, in all probability, have been employed againſt Mary, whom, for many reaſons, ſhe both envied and hated.

NOR was this ſtep beyond her power, unprecedented in the hiſtory, or inconſiſtent with the conſtitution of England. Though ſucceſſion by hereditary right be an idea ſo natural and ſo popular, that it has been eſtabliſhed almoſt in every civilized nation, yet England affords many memorable inſtances of deviations from that rule. The Crown of that kingdom having once been ſeized by the hand of a conqueror, this invited the bold and enterprifing in every age to imitate ſuch an illuſtrious example of fortunate ambition. From the time of William the Norman, the regular courſe of deſcent had ſeldom continued through three ſucceſſive reigns. Thoſe Princes, whoſe intrigues or valour opened to them a way to the throne, called in the authority of the great council of the nation to confirm their dubious titles. Hence, parliamentary and hereditary right became in England of equal conſideration. That great aſſembly claimed and actually poſſeſſed a power of altering the order of regal ſucceſſion; and even ſo late as Henry VIII. an act of Parliament had authorized that capricious Monarch to ſettle the order of ſucceſſion at his pleaſure. The Engliſh, jealous of their religious liberty, and averſe from the dominion of ſtrangers, would have eagerly adopted the paſſions of their Sovereign, and might have been eaſily induced to exclude the Scottiſh line from the right of ſucceeding to the Crown. Theſe ſeem to have been the

views

Book III. views of both Queens, and theſe were the difficulties which retard-
1561. ed the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh.

But, if the ſources of their diſcord were to be traced no higher than this treaty, an inconſiderable alteration in the words of it, might have brought the preſent queſtion to an amicable iſſue. The indefinite and ambiguous expreſſion, which Cecil had inſerted into the treaty, might have been changed into one more limited, but more preciſe. And Mary, inſtead of promiſing to abſtain from bearing the title of Queen of England in all times to come, might have engaged not to aſſume that title, during the life of Elizabeth, or the lives of her lawful poſterity.

This amendment, however, did not ſuit the views of either Queen. Though Mary had been obliged to ſuſpend, for ſome time, the proſecution of her title to the Engliſh crown, ſhe had not, however, relinquiſhed it. She determined to revive her claim, on the firſt proſpect of ſucceſs, and was unwilling to bind herſelf, by a poſitive engagement, not to take advantage of any ſuch fortunate occurrence. Nor would the alteration have been more acceptable to Elizabeth, who, by agreeing to it, would have tacitly recognized the right of her rival to aſcend the throne after her deceaſe. But neither the Scottiſh nor Engliſh Queen durſt avow theſe ſecret ſentiments of their hearts. Any open diſcovery of an inclination to diſturb the tranquillity of England, or to wreſt the ſceptre out of Elizabeth's hands, might have proved fatal to Mary. Any ſuſpicion of a deſign to alter the order of ſucceſſion, and to ſet aſide the claim of the Scottiſh Queen, would have expoſed Elizabeth to much and deſerved cenſure, and have raiſed up againſt her many and dangerous enemies. Theſe, however carefully concealed, or artfully diſ-

guiſed,

guiſed, were, in all probability, the real motives which determined the one Queen to ſollicit, and the other to refuſe the ratification of the treaty, in its original form; while neither had recourſe to that explication of it, which, to an heart unwarped by political intereſt, and ſincerely deſirous of union and concord, would have appeared ſo obvious and natural. BOOK III. 1561.

BUT though conſiderations of intereſt firſt occaſioned this rupture between the Britiſh Queens, rivalſhip of another kind contributed to widen the breach, and female jealouſy increaſed the violence of their political hatred. Elizabeth, with all thoſe extraordinary qualities, by which ſhe equalled or ſurpaſſed thoſe of her ſex, who have merited the greateſt renown, diſcovered an admiration of her own perſon, to a degree, which women of ordinary underſtandings either do not entertain, or prudently endeavour to conceal. Her attention to dreſs, her ſolicitude to diſplay her charms, her love of flattery, were all exceſſive. Nor were theſe weakneſſes confined to that period of life, when they are more pardonable. Even in very advanced years, the wiſeſt woman of that, or perhaps of any other age, wore the garb, and affected the manners of a girl *. Though Elizabeth was as much inferior to Mary, in beauty, and gracefulneſs of perſon, as ſhe excelled her in political abilities, and in the arts of government, ſhe was weak enough to compare herſelf with the Scottiſh Queen †; and as it was impoſſible ſhe could be altogether ignorant how much Mary gained by the compariſon; ſhe envied and hated her as a rival, by whom ſhe was eclipſed. In judging of the conduct of Princes, we are apt to aſcribe too much to political motives, and too little to the

* Johnſton Hiſt. Rer. Britan. 346, 347. Carte, vol. iii. 699. Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors. Article *Eſſex*.

† Melvil, 98.

paſſions

Book III. 1561.

paſſions which they feel in common with the reſt of mankind. In order to account for Elizabeth's preſent, as well as her ſubſequent conduct towards Mary, we muſt not always conſider her as a Queen, we muſt ſometimes regard her as a woman.

Elizabeth, though no ſtranger to Mary's difficulties with reſpect to the treaty, continued to urge her, by repeated applications, to ratify it *. Mary, under various pretences, ſtill contrived to gain time, and to elude the requeſt. But while the one Queen ſollicited with perſevering importunity, and the other evaded with artful delay, they both ſtudied an extreme politeneſs of behaviour, and loaded each other with profeſſions of ſiſterly love, with reciprocal declarations of unchangeable eſteem and amity.

Elizabeth refuſes Mary a ſafe conduct.

It was not long before Mary was convinced, that, among Princes, theſe expreſſions of friendſhip are commonly far diſtant from the heart. In ſailing from France to Scotland, the courſe lies along the Engliſh coaſt. In order to be ſafe from the inſults of the Engliſh fleet, or in caſe of tempeſtuous weather, to ſecure a retreat in the harbours of that kingdom, Mary ſent M. D'Oyſel to demand of Elizabeth a ſafe conduct during her voyage. This requeſt, which decency alone obliged one Prince to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected, in ſuch a manner, as gave riſe to no ſlight ſuſpicion of a deſign, either to obſtruct the paſſage, or to intercept the perſon of the Scottiſh Queen †.

Mary begins her voyage.

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. She was

* Keith, 157, 160, &c. † Ibid. 171. Camden. See Append. N°. VI.

accompanied to Calais, the place where ſhe embarked, in a manner ſuitable to her dignity, as the Queen of two powerful kingdoms. Six Princes of Lorrain her uncles, with many of the moſt eminent among the French nobles, were in her retinue. Catherine, who ſecretly rejoiced at her departure, graced it with every circumſtance of magnificence and reſpect. After bidding adieu to her mourning attendants, with a ſad heart, and eyes bathed in tears, Mary left that kingdom, the ſhort, but only ſcene of her life, in which fortune ſmiled upon her. While the French coaſt continued in ſight, ſhe intently gazed upon it, and muſing, in a thoughtful poſture, on that height of fortune whence ſhe had fallen, and preſaging, perhaps, the diſaſters and calamities which imbittered the remainder of her days, ſhe ſighed often, and cried out "Farewel "France! Farewel beloved country, which I ſhall never more be-"hold!" Even when the darkneſs of the night had hid the land from her view, ſhe would neither retire to the cabin, nor taſte food, but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, ſhe there waited the return of day, with the utmoſt impatience. Fortune ſoothed her on this occaſion; the galley made little way during the night. In the morning, the coaſt of France was ſtill within ſight, and ſhe continued to feed her melancholy with the proſpect; and as long as her eyes could diſtinguiſh it, to utter the ſame tender expreſſions of regret*. At laſt a briſk gale aroſe, by the favour of which for ſome days, and afterward under the covert of a thick fog, Mary eſcaped the Engliſh fleet, which lay in wait to intercept her†; and on the 19th of Auguſt, after an abſence of near thirteen years, landed ſafely at Leith in her native kingdom.

1561.

Arrives in Scotland.

* Brantome, 483. He himſelf was in the ſame galley with the Queen.

† Goodal. vol. i. 175. Caſteln. 455.

Book III. 1561.

Mary was received by her ſubjects with ſhouts and acclamations of joy, and with every demonſtration of welcome and regard. But as her arrival was unexpected, and no ſuitable preparation had been made for it, they could not, with their utmoſt efforts, hide from her the poverty of the country, and were obliged to conduct her to the palace of Holyrood-houſe with little pomp. The Queen, accuſtomed from her infancy to the utmoſt ſplendor and magnificence, and fond of them, as was natural at her age, could not help obſerving the change in her ſituation, and ſeemed to be deeply affected with it *.

State of the kingdom at that time.

Never did any Prince aſcend the throne at a juncture which called for more wiſdom in council, or more courage and ſteadineſs in action. The rage of religious controverſy was ſtill unabated. The memory of paſt oppreſſion exaſperated the Proteſtants; the ſmart of recent injuries rendered the Papiſts deſperate; both were zealous, fierce, and irreconcileable. The abſence of their Sovereign had accuſtomed the nobles to independency; and, during the late commotions, they had acquired ſuch an increaſe of wealth, as threw great weight into the ſcale of ariſtocracy, which ſtood not in need of any acceſſion of power. The kingdom had long been under the government of Regents, who exerciſed a delegated juriſdiction, attended with little authority, and which inſpired no reverence. A ſtate of pure anarchy had prevailed for the two laſt years, without a Regent, without a ſupreme council, without the power, or even the form of a regular government †. A licentious ſpirit, unacquainted with ſubordination, and diſdaining the reſtraints of law and juſtice, had ſpread among all ranks of men. The influence of France, the antient ally of the kingdom, was withdrawn or deſpiſed.

The

* Brant. 484. † Keith, Append. 92.

The Engliſh, of enemies become confederates, had grown into confidence with the nation, and had gained an aſcendant over all its councils. The Scottiſh Monarchs did not derive more ſplendor or power from the friendſhip of the former, than they had reaſon to dread injury and diminution from the interpoſition of the latter. Every conſideration, whether of intereſt, or of ſelf-preſervation, obliged Elizabeth to depreſs the royal authority in Scotland, and to create the Prince perpetual difficulties, by fomenting the ſpirit of diſaffection among the people.

In this poſture were the affairs of Scotland, when the adminiſtration fell into the hands of a young Queen, not nineteen years of age, unacquainted with the manners and laws of her country, a ſtranger to her ſubjects, without experience, without allies, and almoſt without a freind.

On the other hand, in Mary's ſituation we find ſome circumſtances, which, though they did not ballance theſe diſadvantages, contributed, however, to alleviate them; and, with ſkillful management might have produced great effects. Her ſubjects, unaccuſtomed ſo long to the reſidence of their Prince, were not only dazzled by the novelty and ſplendor of the royal preſence, but inſpired with awe and reverence. Beſides the places of power and profit beſtowed by the favour of a Prince, his protection, his familiarity, and even his ſmiles, confer honour and win the hearts of men. From all corners of the kingdom, the nobles crowded to teſtify their duty and affection to their Sovereign, and ſtudied, by every art, to wipe out the memory of paſt miſconduct, and to lay in a ſtock of future merit. The amuſements and gaiety of her court, which was filled with the moſt accompliſhed of the French nobility, who

Book III. 1561. had attended her, began to ſoften and to poliſh the rude manners of the nation. Mary herſelf poſſeſſed many of theſe qualifications, which raiſe affection, and procure eſteem. The beauty and gracefulneſs of her perſon drew univerſal admiration, the elegance and politeneſs of her manners commanded general reſpect. To all the charms of her own ſex, ſhe added many of the accompliſhments of the other. The progreſs ſhe had made in all the Arts and Sciences, which were then eſteemed neceſſary or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by Princes. And all her other qualities were rendered more agreeable by a courteous affability, which, without leſſening the dignity of a Prince, ſteals on the hearts of ſubjects with a bewitching inſinuation.

From theſe circumſtances, notwithſtanding the threatening aſpect of affairs at Mary's return into Scotland, notwithſtanding the clouds which gathered on every hand, a political obſerver would have predicted a very different iſſue of her reign; and whatever ſudden guſts of faction he might have expected, he would never have dreaded the deſtructive violence of that ſtorm which followed.

While all parties were contending who ſhould diſcover the moſt dutiful attachment to the Queen, the zealous and impatient ſpirit of the age broke out in a remarkable inſtance. On the Sunday after her arrival, the Queen commanded maſs to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace. The firſt rumour of this occaſioned a ſecret murmuring among the Proteſtants who attended the court; complaints and threatenings ſoon followed. The ſervants belonging to the chapel were inſulted and abuſed; and, if the prior of St. Andrew's had not ſeaſonably interpoſed, the rioters might have proceeded to the utmoſt exceſſes *.

* Knox, 284.

It

It is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, and under circumſtances ſo very different, to conceive the violence of that zeal againſt Popery, which then poſſeſſed the nation. Every inſtance of condeſcenſion to the Papiſts was eſteemed an act of apoſtacy, and the toleration of a ſingle maſs pronounced to be more formidable to the nation than the invaſion of ten thouſand armed men *. Under the influence of theſe opinions, many Proteſtants would have ventured to go dangerous lengths; and, without attempting to convince their Sovereign by argument, or to reclaim her by indulgence, would have abruptly denied her the liberty of worſhipping God in that manner, which alone ſhe thought acceptable to him. But the Prior of St. Andrew's, and other leaders of the party, not only reſtrained this impetuous ſpirit; but, in ſpite of the murmurs of the people, and the exclamations of the preachers, obtained for the Queen and her domeſtics the undiſturbed exerciſe of the Catholic religion. Near an hundred years after this period, when the violence of religious animoſities had begun to ſubſide, when time and the progreſs of learning had inlarged the views of the human mind, an Engliſh houſe of Commons refuſed to indulge the wife of their Sovereign in the private uſe of the maſs. The Proteſtant leaders deſerve, on this occaſion, the praiſe both of wiſdom and of moderation for conduct ſo different. But, at the ſame time, whoever reflects upon the encroaching and ſanguinary ſpirit of Popery, will be far from treating the fears and caution of the more zealous Reformers as altogether imaginary, and deſtitute of any real foundation.

The Proteſtants, however, by this compliance with the Queen's prejudices, obtained a proclamation highly favourable to their reli-

* Knox, 287.

Book III. gion. The Reformed doctrine, though eſtabliſhed all over the kingdom, had never received the countenance or ſanction of royal authority. On this occaſion, the Queen declared any attempt towards an alteration or ſubverſion of it, to be a capital crime *.

1561. Auguſt 25.

She employs only Proteſtants in the adminiſtration.

THE Queen, conformable to the plan which had been concerted in France, committed the adminiſtration of affairs entirely to Proteſtants. Her council was filled with the moſt eminent perſons of that party; not a ſingle Papiſt was admitted into any degree of confidence †. The Prior of St. Andrew's and Maitland of Lethington ſeemed to hold the firſt place in the Queen's affection, and poſſeſſed all the power and reputation of favourite Miniſters. Her choice could not have fallen upon perſons more acceptable to her people. And, by their prudent advice, Mary conducted herſelf with ſo much moderation, and deference to the ſentiments of the nation, as could not fail of gaining the affection of her ſubjects ‡, the firmeſt foundation of a Prince's power, and the only genuine ſource of his happineſs and glory.

Attempts to gain Elizabeths' favour.

A CORDIAL reconcilement with Elizabeth was another object of great importance to Mary; and though ſhe ſeems to have had it much at heart, in the beginning of her adminiſtration, to accompliſh ſuch a deſireable conjunction, yet many events occurred to widen, rather than to cloſe the breach. The formal offices of friendſhip, however, are ſeldom neglected among Princes, and Elizabeth, who had attempted ſo openly to obſtruct the Queen's voyage into Scotland, did not fail, a few days after her arrival, to command Randolph to congratulate her ſafe return. Mary, that ſhe might

* Keith, 504. † Knox, 285. ‡ Leſly, 235.

be

be on equal terms with her, ſent Maitland to the Engliſh court, with many ceremonious expreſſions of regard for Elizabeth*. Both the Ambaſſadors were received with the utmoſt civility; and, on each ſide, the profeſſions of kindneſs, as they were made with little ſincerity, were liſtened to with proportional credit. BOOK III. 1561.

BOTH were intruſted, however, with ſomething more than mere matter of ceremony. Randolph urged Mary, with freſh importunity, to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. Maitland endeavoured to amuſe Elizabeth, by apologizing for the dilatory conduct of his Miſtreſs with regard to that point. The multiplicity of public affairs ſince her arrival in Scotland, the importance of the queſtion in diſpute, and the abſence of many noblemen, with whom ſhe was obliged in decency to conſult, were the pretences offered in excuſe for her conduct; the real cauſes of it were thoſe, which have already been mentioned. But in order to extricate herſelf out of theſe difficulties, into which the treaty of Edinburgh had led her, Mary was brought to yield a point, which formerly ſhe ſeemed determined never to give up. She inſtructed Maitland to ſignify her willingleſs to diſclaim any right to the crown of England, during the life of Elizabeth, and the lives of her poſterity; if, in failure of theſe, ſhe were declared next heir by act of parliament †.

REASONABLE as this propoſal might appear to Mary, who thereby precluded herſelf from diſturbing Elizabeth's poſſeſſion of the throne, nothing could be more inconſiſtent with Elizabeth's intereſt, or more contradictory to a paſſion, which predominated in the character of that Princeſs. Notwithſtanding all the great qualities

* Keith, 181, &c. † Camden, 387. Buch. 329.

Book III. 1561. which threw ſuch luſtre on her reign, we may obſerve, that ſhe was tinctured with a jealouſy of her right to the Crown, which often betrayed her into mean and ungenerous actions. The peculiarity of her ſituation heightened, no doubt, and increaſed, but did not infuſe this paſſion. It deſcended to her from Henry VII. her grandfather, whom, in ſeveral features of his character, ſhe nearly reſembled. Like him ſhe ſuffered the title by which ſhe held the Crown to remain ambiguous and controverted, rather than ſubmit it to parliamentary diſcuſſion, or derive any addition to her right, from ſuch authority. Like him, ſhe obſerved every pretender to the ſucceſſion, not only with that attention, which prudence preſcribes; but with that averſion which ſuſpicion inſpires. The preſent uncertainty with regard to the right of ſucceſſion, operated for Elizabeth's advantage, both on her ſubjects, and on her rivals. Among the former, every lover of his country regarded her life as the great ſecurity of the national tranquillity; and choſe rather to acknowledge a title which was dubious, than ſearch for one that was unknown. The latter, while nothing was decided, were held in dependence, and obliged to court her. The manner in which ſhe received this ill-timed propoſal of the Scotiſh Queen, was no other than might have been expected. She rejected it in a peremptory tone, with many expreſſions of a reſolution never to permit a point of ſo much delicacy to be touched.

September 1. ABOUT this time, the Queen made her public entry into Edinburgh with great pomp. Nothing was neglected, which could expreſs the duty and affection of the citizens towards their Sovereign. But amidſt theſe demonſtrations of regard, the genius and ſentiments of the nation diſcovered themſelves, in a circumſtance, which, though inconſiderable, ought not to be overlooked. As it

was

was the mode of the times to exhibit many pageants at every public solemnity; on this occaſion, moſt of theſe were contrived to be repreſentations of the vengeance which the Almighty hath inflicted upon idolaters *. Even while they ſtudied to amuſe and to flatter the Queen, her ſubjects could not refrain from teſtifying their abhorrence of that religion which ſhe profeſſed. Book III. 1561.

To reſtore the regular adminiſtration of juſtice, and to reform the internal police of the country, became the next object of the Queen's care. The laws enacted for preſervation of public order, and the ſecurity of private property, were nearly the ſame in Scotland, as in every other civilized country. But the nature of the Scottiſh conſtitution, the impotence of regal authority, the exorbitant power of the nobles, the violence of faction, and the fierce manners of the people, rendered the execution of theſe laws feeble, diſorderly, and partial. In the counties which border on England, this defect was moſt apparent; and the conſequences of it moſt ſenſibly felt. The inhabitants, ſtrangers to induſtry, averſe from labour, and unacquainted with the arts of peace, ſubſiſted intirely by ſpoil and pillage, and being confederated in ſepts or clans, committed theſe exceſſes not only with impunity, but even with honour. During the unſettled ſtate of the kingdom from the death of James V. this dangerous licence had grown to an unuſual height; and the inroads and rapine of thoſe freebooters were become no leſs intolerable to their own countrymen, than to the Engliſh. To reſtrain and puniſh theſe outrages, was an action equally popular in both kingdoms. The Prior of St. Andrew's was the perſon choſen for this important ſervice, and extraordi- Reſtrains the licence of the borderers.

* Keith, 189.

Book III. 1561.

nary powers, together with the title of the Queen's lieutenant, were veſted in him for this purpoſe.

NOTHING can be more ſurpriſing to men, accuſtomed to regular government, than the preparations made on this occaſion. They were ſuch as might be expected in the rudeſt and moſt imperfect ſtate of ſociety. The freeholders of eleven ſeveral counties, with all their followers completely armed, were ſummoned to aſſiſt the Lieutenant in the diſcharge of his office. Every thing reſembled a military expedition, rather than the progreſs of a court of juſtice *. The Prior executed his commiſſion with ſuch vigour and prudence, as acquired him a great increaſe of reputation and popularity among his countrymen. Numbers of the banditti ſuffered the puniſhment due to their crimes; and, by the impartial and rigorous adminiſtration of juſtice, order and tranquillity were reſtored to that part of the kingdom.

The Papiſts attempt, in vain, to get into favour with her.

DURING the abſence of the Prior of St. Andrew's, the leaders of the Popiſh faction ſeem to have taken ſome ſteps towards inſinuating themſelves into the Queen's favour and confidence †. But the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, the moſt remarkable perſon in the party for abilities and political addreſs, was received with little favour at court; and whatever ſecret partiality the Queen might have towards thoſe who profeſſed the ſame religion with herſelf, ſhe diſcovered no inclination, at that time, to take the adminiſtration of affairs out of thoſe hands, to which ſhe had already committed it.

THE cold reception of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's was owing to his connection with the houſe of Hamilton; from which the

* Keith, 198. † Ibid. 203.

Queen

Queen was much alienated. The Duke of Guiſe and the Cardinal could never forgive the zeal, with which the Duke of Chatelherault and his ſon the Earl of Arran had eſpouſed the cauſe of the Congregation. Princes ſeldom view their ſucceſſors without jealouſy and diſtruſt. The Prior of St. Andrew's, perhaps, dreaded the Duke as a rival in power. All theſe cauſes concurred in infuſing into the Queen's mind an averſion for that family. The Duke, indulging his love of retirement, lived at a diſtance from court, without taking pains to inſinuate himſelf into favour. And though the Earl of Arran openly aſpired to marry the Queen, he, by a moſt unpardonable act of imprudence, was the only nobleman of diſtinction who oppoſed Mary's enjoying the exerciſe of her religion; and by raſhly entering a public proteſtation againſt it, entirely forfeited her favour *. At the ſame time, the ſordid parſimony of his father obliged him either to hide himſelf in ſome retirement, or to appear in a manner unbecoming his dignity as firſt Prince of the blood, or his high pretenſions as ſuitor to the Queen †. His love, inflamed by diſappointment, and his impatience, exaſperated by neglect, preyed gradually on his reaſon; and, after many extravagancies, broke out at laſt in ungovernable frenzy. BOOK III. 1561.

TOWARDS the end of the year, a Convention of Eſtates was held chiefly on account of eccleſiaſtical affairs. The aſſembly of the church, which ſat at the ſame time, preſented a petition, containing many demands with reſpect to the ſuppreſſing of Popery, the encouraging the Proteſtant religion, and the providing for the maintenance of the clergy ‡. The laſt was a matter of great importance, and the ſteps taken towards it deſerve to be traced. Decemb. 20.

* Keith, 201, 204. Knox, 286. † Keith, 196. ‡ Ibid. 210.

Book III.

1561.

A new regulation concerning the revenues of the church.

THOUGH the number of Proteſtant preachers was now conſiderably increaſed, many more were ſtill wanted, in every corner of the kingdom. No legal proviſion having been made for them, they had hitherto drawn a ſcanty and precarious ſubſiſtence from the benevolence of their people. To ſuffer the Miniſters of an eſtabliſhed church to continue in this ſtate of indigence and dependence, was an indecency equally repugnant to the principles of religion, and to the maxims of ſound policy; and would have juſtified all the imputations of avarice, with which the Reformation was then loaded by its enemies. The revenues of the Popiſh church were the only fund, which could be employed for their relief; but during the three laſt years, the ſtate of theſe was greatly altered. A great majority of Abbots, Priors, and other heads of religious houſes, had, either from a ſenſe of duty, or from views of intereſt, renounced the errors of Popery; and, notwithſtanding this change in their ſentiments, they retained their antient revenues. Almoſt the whole order of Biſhops, and ſeveral of the other dignitaries, ſtill adhered to the Romiſh ſuperſtition; and though debarred from every ſpiritual function, continued to enjoy the temporalities of their benefices. Some laymen, eſpecially thoſe who had been active in promoting the Reformation, had, under various pretences, and amidſt the licence of civil wars, got into their hands poſſeſſions, which belonged to the church. And thus, before any part of the ancient eccleſiaſtical revenues could be applied towards the maintenance of the Proteſtant Miniſters, many different intereſts were to be adjuſted; many claims to be examined; and the prejudices and paſſions of the two contending parties required the application of a delicate hand. After much contention, the following plan was approved by a majority of voices, and acquieſced in even by the Popiſh clergy themſelves. An exact account of the value of eccle-

siastical benefices throughout the kingdom was appointed to be taken. The present incumbents, to whatever party they adhered, were allowed to keep possession: two thirds of their whole revenue were reserved for their own use, the remainder was annexed to the Crown; and out of that, the Queen undertook to assign a sufficient maintenance for the Protestant clergy *. BOOK III. 1561.

As most of the Bishops and several of the other dignitaries were still firmly attached to the Popish religion, the extirpation of the whole order, rather than an act of such extraordinary indulgence, might have been expected from the zeal of the preachers, and from the spirit which had hitherto animated the nation. But, on this occasion, other principles obstructed the operation of those, which were purely religious. Zeal for liberty, and the love of wealth, two passions extremely opposite, concurred in determining the Protestant leaders to fall in with this plan, which deviated so manifestly from the maxims, by which they had hitherto regulated their conduct.

If the Reformers had been allowed to act without controul, and to level all distinctions in the church, the immense revenues annexed to ecclesiastical dignities could not, with any colour of justice, have been retained by those in whose hands they now were; but must either have been distributed among the Protestant clergy, who performed all religious offices, or must have fallen to the Queen, from the bounty of whose ancestors, the greater part of them was originally derived. The former, however suitable to the religious spirit of many among the people, was attended with manifold dan-

* Keith, Append. 175. Knox, 194.

Book III. 1561.

ger. The Popiſh eccleſiaſtics had acquired a ſhare in the national property, which far exceeded the proportion that was conſiſtent with the happineſs of the kingdom; and the nobles were determined to guard againſt this evil, by preventing thoſe vaſt poſſeſſions from ever returning into the hands of the church. Nor was the latter, which expoſed the conſtitution to more imminent hazard, to be avoided with leſs care. Even that circumſcribed prerogative, which the Scottiſh Kings poſſeſſed, was the object of jealouſy to the nobles. If they had allowed the Crown to ſeize the ſpoils of the church, ſuch an increaſe of power muſt have followed that acceſſion of property, as would have raiſed the royal authority above controul, and have rendered the moſt limited Prince in Europe the moſt abſolute and independent. The reign of Henry VIII. preſented a recent and alarming example of this nature. The wealth which flowed in upon that Prince, from the ſuppreſſion of the monaſteries, not only changed the maxims of his government, but the temper of his mind; and he who had formerly ſubmitted to his Parliaments, and courted his people, dictated, from that time, to the former, with intolerable inſolence; and tyrannized over the latter with unprecedented ſeverity. And if his policy had not been extremely ſhort-ſighted, if he had not ſquandered what he acquired, with a profuſion equal to his rapaciouſneſs, and which defeated his ambition, he might have eſtabliſhed deſpotiſm in England, on a baſis ſo broad and ſtrong, as all the efforts of the ſubjects would never have been able to ſhake. In Scotland, where the riches of the clergy bore as great a proportion to the wealth of the kingdom, the acquiſition of church-lands would have been of no leſs importance to the Crown, and no leſs fatal to the ariſtocracy. The nobles, for this reaſon, guarded againſt ſuch

an increaſe of the royal power, and thereby ſecured their own independence. BOOK III. 1561.

AVARICE mingled itſelf with their concern for the intereſt of their order. The re-uniting the poſſeſſions of the church to the Crown, or the beſtowing them on the Proteſtant clergy, would have been a fatal blow both to thoſe nobles, who had, by fraud or violence, ſeized part of theſe revenues, and to thoſe Abbots and Priors who had totally renounced their eccleſiaſtical character. But as the plan, which was propoſed, gave ſome ſanction to their uſurpations, they promoted it with their utmoſt influence. The popiſh eccleſiaſtics, though the lopping off a third of their revenues was by no means agreeable to them, conſented, under their preſent circumſtances, to ſacrifice a part of their poſſeſſions, in order to purchaſe the ſecure enjoyment of the remainder; and after deeming the whole irrecoverably loſt, they conſidered whatever they could retrieve as ſo much gain. Many of the ancient dignitaries were men of noble birth; and as they no longer entertained hopes of reſtoring the Popiſh religion, they wiſhed their own relations, rather than the Crown, or the Proteſtant clergy, to be enriched with the ſpoils of the church. They connived, for this reaſon, at the encroachments of the nobles; they even aided their avarice and violence; they dealt out the patrimony of the church among their own relations, and by granting *feus* and perpetual leaſes of lands and tithes, gave, to the utmoſt of their power, ſome colour of legal poſſeſſion, to what was formerly mere uſurpation. Many veſtiges of ſuch alienations ſtill remain *. The nobles, with the concurrence of the incumbents, daily extended their encroachments, and gra-

* Keith, 507. Spotſ. 175.

dually

Book III. 1561. dually ſtripped the eccleſiaſtics of their richeſt and moſt valuable poſſeſſions. Even that third part, which was given up in order to ſilence the clamours of the Proteſtant clergy, and to be ſome equivalent to the Crown for its claims, amounted to no conſiderable ſum. The *thirds* due by the more powerful nobles, eſpecially by thoſe who had embraced the Reformation, were almoſt univerſally remitted. Others, by producing fraudulent rentals; by eſtimating the corn, and other payments in kind, at an under value; and by the connivance of collectors; greatly diminiſhed the charge againſt themſelves*: and the nobles had much reaſon to be ſatisfied with a device which, at ſo ſmall expence, ſecured to them ſuch vaſt poſſeſſions.

The Proteſtant clergy no gainers by it.

NOR were the Proteſtant clergy conſiderable gainers by this new regulation; they found it to be a more eaſy matter to kindle zeal, than to extinguiſh avarice. Thoſe very men, whom formerly they had ſwayed with abſolute authority, were now deaf to all their remonſtrances. The Prior of St. Andrew's, the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Morton, and Maitland, all the moſt zealous leaders of the Congregation, were appointed to aſſign, or, as it was called, to *modify* their ſtipends. An hundred merks Scottiſh was the allowance which their liberality afforded to the generality of Miniſters. To a few three hundred merks were granted †. About twenty-four thouſand pounds Scottiſh appears to have been the whole ſum allotted for the maintenance of a national church eſtabliſhed by law, and eſteemed, throughout the kingdom, the true church of God ‡. Even this ſum was paid with little exactneſs, and the Miniſters were kept in the ſame poverty and dependance as formerly.

* Keith, Append. 188. Spotſ. 183. † Knox, 301. ‡ Keith, Appen. 188,

THE

1562. Diſſenſions among the nobles.

THE gentleneſs of the Queen's adminiſtration, and the elegance of her court, had mitigated, in ſome degree, the ferocity of the nobles, and accuſtomed them to greater mildneſs and humanity; while, at the ſame time, her preſence and authority were a check to their factious and tumultuary ſpirit. But, as a ſtate of order and tranquillity was not natural to the feudal ariſtocracy, it could not be of long continuance; and this year became remarkable for the moſt violent eruptions of inteſtine diſcord and animoſity.

AMONG the great and independent nobility of Scotland, a Monarch could poſſeſs little authority, and exerciſe no extenſive or rigorous juriſdiction. The interfering of intereſt, the unſettled ſtate of property, the frequency of public commotions, and the fierceneſs of their own manners, ſowed, among the great families, the ſeeds of many quarrels and contentions. Theſe, as we have already obſerved, were decided not by law, but by violence. The offended Baron, without having recourſe to the Monarch, or acknowledging his ſuperior authority, aſſembled his own followers, and invaded the lands of his rival in an hoſtile manner. Together with his eſtate and honours, every nobleman tranſmitted ſome hereditary feud to his poſterity, who were bound in honour to adopt and to proſecute it with the ſame inveterate rancour.

SUCH a diſſention had ſubſiſted between the houſe of Hamilton and the Earl of Bothwell, and was heightened by mutual injuries during the late commotions *. Both the Earl of Arran and Bothwell happening to be in waiting at the ſame time, their

* Keith, 215.

Book III. followers quarrelled frequently in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, and excited dangerous tumults in that city. At laſt, the mediation of their friends, particularly of Knox, brought about a reconcilement, but an unfortunate one to both theſe noblemen *.

1562. February.

A FEW days after, Arran came to Knox, and with the utmoſt terror and confuſion, confeſſed firſt to him, and then to the Prior of St. Andrew's, that, in order to obtain the ſole direction of affairs, Bothwell and his kinſmen the Hamiltons, had conſpired to murder the Prior, Maitland, and the other favourites of the Queen. The Duke of Chatelherault regarded the Prior as a rival, who had ſupplanted him in the Queen's favour, and who filled that place at the helm, which he imagined to be due to himſelf, as firſt Prince of the blood. Bothwell, on account of the perſonal injuries which he had received from the Prior during the late commotions, was no leſs exaſperated againſt him. But whether he and the Hamiltons had agreed to cement their new alliance, with the blood of their common enemy, or whether the conſpiracy exiſted only in the frantic and diſordered imagination of the Earl of Arran, it is impoſſible, amidſt the contradiction of hiſtorians, and the defectiveneſs of records, poſitively to determine. Among men inflamed with reſentment, and impatient for revenge, raſh expreſſions might be uttered, and violent and criminal expedients propoſed; and on that foundation, Arran's diſtempered fancy might rear the whole ſuperſtructure of a conſpiracy. All the perſons accuſed, denied their guilt with the utmoſt confidence. But the known characters of the men, and the violent ſpirit of the age, added greatly to the probability of the accuſation, and abundantly juſtify the conduct of the Queen's

* Knox, 305.

Mini-

Miniſters, who confined Bothwell, Arran, and a few of the ring-leaders, in ſeparate priſons, and obliged the Duke to ſurrender the ſtrong caſtle of Dunbarton, which he had held ever ſince the time of his reſigning the Office of Regent *. Book III. 1562.

The Earl of Huntly's enmity to the Queen's Miniſters.

THE deſigns of the Earl of Huntly againſt the Prior of St. Andrew's were deeper laid, and produced more memorable and more tragical events. George Gordon Earl of Huntly, having been one of the nobles who conſpired againſt James III. and who raiſed his ſon James IV. to the throne, enjoyed a great ſhare in the confidence of that generous Prince †. By his bounty, great acceſſions of wealth and power were added to a family, already opulent and powerful. On the death of that Monarch, Alexander the next Earl, being appointed Lord Lieutenant of all the counties beyond Forth, left the other nobles to contend for offices at court; and retiring to the north, where his eſtate and influence lay, reſided there, in a kind of princely independence. The Chieftains in that part of the kingdom dreaded the growing dominion of ſuch a dangerous neighbour, but were unable to prevent his encroachments. Some of his rivals he ſecretly undermined, others he ſubdued by open force. His eſtate far exceeded that of any other ſubject, and his *ſuperiorities* and juriſdictions extended over many of the northern counties. With power and poſſeſſions ſo immenſe, under two long and feeble minorities, and amidſt the ſhock of civil commotions, the Earls of Huntly might have indulged the moſt elevated hopes. But happily for the Crown, an active and enterpriſing ſpirit was not the characteriſtic of that family, and whatever object their ambition might have in view, they choſe rather to acquire it by political addreſs, than to ſeize it openly, and by force of arms.

* Knox, 307, 308. Keith, 202. † Crawf. Officers of State, 56.

Book III. 1562. THE conduct of George the preſent Earl, during the late commotions, had been perfectly ſuitable to the character of the family, in that age; dubious, variable, and crafty. While the ſucceſs of the Lords of the Congregation was uncertain, he aſſiſted the Queen Regent in her attempts to cruſh them. When their Affairs put on a better aſpect, he pretended to join them, but never heartily favoured their cauſe. He was courted and feared by each of the contending parties; both connived at his encroachments in the north; and, by artifice and force, which he well knew how to employ alternately, and in their proper places, he added every day to the exorbitant power and wealth which he poſſeſſed.

HE obſerved the growing reputation and authority of the Prior of St. Andrew's, with the utmoſt jealouſy and concern, and conſidered him as a rival who had engroſſed that ſhare in the Queen's confidence, to which his own zeal for the Popiſh religion ſeemed to give him a preferable title. Perſonal injuries ſoon increaſed the miſunderſtanding occaſioned by rivalſhip in power. The Queen having determined to reward the ſervices of the Prior of St. Andrew's, by creating him an Earl, ſhe made choice of Mar, as the place whence he ſhould take his title; and, that he might be better able to ſupport his new honour, beſtowed upon him, at the
February 10. ſame time, the lands of that name. Theſe were part of the royal demeſnes *, but the Earls of Huntly had been permitted, for ſeveral years, to keep poſſeſſion of them †. On this occaſion, the Earl not only complained, with ſome reaſon, of the loſs which he ſuſtained, but had real cauſe to be alarmed at the intruſion of a formidable neighbour into the heart of his territories, who might

* Crawf. Peer. 297. † Buch. 334.

be

be able to rival his power, and excite his oppreſſed vaſſals to ſhake off his yoke. BOOK III. 1562.

AN incident, which happened ſoon after, encreaſed and confirmed Huntly's ſuſpicions. Sir John Gordon, his third ſon, and Lord Ogilvie had a diſpute about the property of an eſtate. This diſpute became a deadly quarrel. They happened unfortunately to meet in the ſtreets of Edinburgh, and being both attended with armed followers, a ſcuffle enſued, in which Lord Ogilvie was dangerouſly wounded by Sir John. The Magiſtrates ſeized both the offenders, and the Queen commanded them to be ſtrictly confined. Under any regular government, ſuch a breach of public peace and order would expoſe the perſon offending, to certain puniſhment. At this time, ſome ſeverity was neceſſary, in order to vindicate the Queen's authority from an inſult, the moſt henious which had been offered to it, ſince her return into Scotland. But in an age accuſtomed to licence and anarchy, even this moderate exertion of her power in ordering them to be kept in cuſtody, was deemed an act of intolerable rigour; and the friends of each party began to convene their vaſſals and dependants, in order to overawe, or to fruſtrate the deciſions of juſtice*. Mean while, Gordon made his eſcape out of priſon, and flying into Aberdeenſhire, complained loudly of the indignity with which he had been treated. And as all the Queen's actions were, at this juncture, imputed to the Earl of Mar, this added not a little to the reſentment, which Huntly had conceived againſt that nobleman. June 27.

AT the very time when theſe paſſions fermented, with the utmoſt violence, in the minds of the Earl of Huntly and his family, the Auguſt 2

* Keith, 223.

Queen

Book III. 1562. Queen happened to ſet out on a progreſs into the northern parts of the kingdom. She was attended by the Earls of Mar and Morton, Maitland, and other leaders of that party. The preſence of the Queen, in a country where no name greater than the Earl of Huntly's had been heard of, and no power ſuperior to his had been exerciſed, for many years, was an event, of itſelf, abundantly mortifying to that haughty nobleman. But while the Queen was entirely under the direction of Mar, all her actions were more apt to be miſrepreſented, and conſtrued into injuries; and a thouſand circumſtances could not but occur to awaken Huntly's jealouſy, to offend his pride, and to inflame his reſentment. Amidſt the agitations of ſo many violent paſſions, ſome eruption was unavoidable.

On Mary's arrival in the north, Huntly employed his wife, a woman capable of executing the commiſſion with abundance of dexterity, to ſooth the Queen, and to intercede for pardon to their ſon. But the Queen peremptorily required, that he ſhould again deliver himſelf into the hands of juſtice, and rely on her clemency. Gordon was perſuaded to do ſo; and being enjoined by the Queen to enter himſelf priſoner in the caſtle of Stirling, he promiſed likewiſe to obey that command. Lord Erſkine, Mar's uncle, was, at that time, Governor of this fort. The Queen's ſeverity, and the place in which ſhe appointed Gordon to be confined, were interpreted to be new marks of Mar's rancour, and augmented the hatred of the Gordons againſt him.

September 1. Mean time, Sir John Gordon ſet out towards Stirling; but inſtead of performing his promiſe to the Queen, made his eſcape from his guards, and returned to take the command of his followers, who were riſing in arms, all over the north. Theſe were

deſtined

deſtined to ſecond and improve the blow, by which his father propoſed, ſecretly, and at once, to cut off Mar, Morton, and Maitland, his principal adverſaries. The time and place for perpetrating this horrid deed were frequently appointed; but the executing of it was wonderfully prevented, by ſome of thoſe unforeſeen accidents, which ſo often occur to diſconcert the ſchemes, and to intimidate the hearts of aſſaſſins *. His own houſe at Strathbogie was the laſt and moſt convenient ſcene, appointed for committing the intended violence. But, on her journey thither, the Queen heard of young Gordon's flight and rebellion, and refuſing, in the firſt tranſports of her indignation, to enter under the father's roof, by that fortunate expreſſion of her reſentment, ſaved her Miniſters from unavoidable deſtruction †.

Takes arms againſt the Queen.

THE ill ſucceſs of theſe efforts of private revenge precipitated Huntly into open rebellion. As the Queen was entirely under the direction of his rivals, it was impoſſible to work their ruin, without violating the allegiance which he owed his Sovereign. On her arrival at Inverneſs, the commanding officer in the caſtle, by Huntly's order, ſhut the gates againſt her. Mary was obliged to lodge in the town, which was open and defenceleſs; but this, too, was quickly ſurrounded by a multitude of the Earl's followers ‡. The utmoſt conſternation ſeized the Queen, who was attended by a very ſlender train. She every moment expected the approach of the rebels, and ſome ſhips were already ordered into the river to ſecure her eſcape. The loyalty of the Monroes, Frazers, Mackintoſhes, and ſome neighbouring clans, who took arms in her defence, ſaved her from this danger. By their aſſiſtance, ſhe even

* Keith, 230. † Knox, 318. ‡ Crawf. Officers of State, 87, 88.

forced

Book III. 1562. forced the caſtle to ſurrender, and inflicted on the Governor the puniſhment which his inſolence deſerved.

This open act of diſobedience was the occaſion of a meaſure more galling to Huntly than any the Queen had hitherto taken. Lord Erſkine, having pretended a right to the earldom of Mar, Stewart reſigned it in his favour; and at the ſame time Mary conferred upon him the title of Earl of Murray, with the eſtate annexed to that dignity, which had been in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Huntly ſince the year 1548*. From this he concluded that his family was devoted to deſtruction; and dreading to be ſtripped, gradually, of thoſe poſſeſſions, which, in reward of their ſervices, the gratitude of the Crown had beſtowed on himſelf, or his anceſtors, he no longer diſguiſed his intentions, but, in defiance of the Queen's proclamation, openly took arms. Inſtead of yielding thoſe places of ſtrength, which Mary required him to ſurrender, his followers diſperſed or cut in pieces the parties which ſhe diſpatched to take poſſeſſion of them†; and he himſelf, advancing with a conſiderable body of men towards Aberdeen, to which place the Queen was now returned, filled her ſmall court with the utmoſt conſternation. Murray had only a handful of men in whom he could confide‡. In order to form the appearance of an army, he was obliged to call in the aſſiſtance of the neighbouring Barons; but as moſt of theſe either favoured Huntly's deſigns, or ſtood in awe of his power, from them no cordial or effectual ſervice could be expected,

* Crawf. Peer. 359. † Knox, 319. ‡ Keith, 230.

With

WITH theſe troops, Murray, who could gain nothing by delay, marched briſkly towards the enemy. He found them at Corrichie, poſted to great advantage; he commanded his northern aſſociates inſtantly to begin the attack; but on the firſt motion of the enemy, they treacherouſly turned their backs; and Huntly's followers, throwing aſide their ſpears, and breaking their ranks, drew their ſwords, and ruſhed forward to the purſuit. It was then, that Murray gave proof both of ſteady courage, and of prudent conduct. He ſtood immoveable, on a riſing ground, with the ſmall but truſty body of his adherents, who preſenting their ſpears to the enemy, received them with a determined reſolution, which they little expected. The Highland broad ſword is not a weapon fit to encounter the Scotch ſpear. In every civil commotion, the ſuperiority of the latter has been evident, and has always decided the conteſt. On this occaſion, the irregular attack of Huntly's troops was eaſily repulſed by Murray's firm battalion. Before they recovered from the confuſion occaſioned by this unforeſeen reſiſtance, thoſe who had begun the flight, willing to regain their credit with the victorious party, fell upon them, and compleated the rout. Huntly himſelf, who was extremely corpulent, was trode to death in the purſuit. His ſons, Sir John and Adam, were taken, and Murray returned in triumph to Aberdeen with his priſoners.

1562. October 28. He is defeated by the Earl of Murray.

THE trial of men taken in actual rebellion againſt their Sovevereign was extremely ſhort. Three days after the battle, Sir John Gordon was beheaded at Aberdeen. His brother Adam was pardoned on account of his youth. Lord Gordon, who had been privy to his father's deſigns, was ſeized in the ſouth, and upon trial found guilty of treaſon; but, through the Queen's clemency, the puniſhment was remitted. The firſt Parliament proceeded againſt

Book III. 1562. this great family, with the utmoſt rigour of the law, and reduced their power and fortune to the loweſt ebb *.

As

* This conſpiracy of the Earl of Huntly is one of the moſt intricate and myſterious paſſages in the Scotch hiſtory. As it was a tranſaction purely domeſtic, and in which the Engliſh were little intereſted, few original papers concerning it have been found in Cecil's Collection, the great ſtorehouſe of evidence and information with regard to the Affairs of this period.

Buchanan ſuppoſes Mary to have formed a deſign about this time, of deſtroying Murray, and of employing the power of the Earl of Huntly for this purpoſe. But his account of this whole tranſaction appears to be ſo void of truth, and even of probability, as to deſerve no ſerious examination. At that time, Mary wanted power, and ſeems to have had no inclination to commit any act of violence upon her brother.

Two other hypotheſes have been advanced, in order to explain this matter; but they appear to be equally removed from truth.

I. It cannot well be conceived, that the Queen's journey to the north was a ſcheme concerted by Murray, in order to ruin the Earl of Huntly. 1. Huntly had reſided at court almoſt ever ſince the Queen's return. Keith 198. Append. 175, &c. This was the proper place in which to have ſeized him. To attack him in Aberdeenſhire, the ſeat of his power, and in the midſt of his vaſſals, was a project equally abſurd and hazardous. 2. The Queen was not accompanied with a body of troops, capable of attempting any thing againſt Huntly by violence; her train was not more numerous, than was uſual in times of greateſt tranquillity, Keith, 230. 3. There remain two original letters with regard to this conſpiracy, one from Randolph the Engliſh Reſident, and another from Maitland, both directed to Cecil. They talk of Huntly's meaſures as notoriouſly treaſonable. Randolph mentions his repeated attempts to aſſaſſinate Murray, &c. No hint is given of any previous reſolution, formed by Mary's Miniſters, to ruin Huntly and his family. Had any ſuch deſign ever exiſted, it was Randolph's duty to have diſcovered it; nor would Maitland have laboured to conceal it from the Engliſh Secretary. Keith, 229, 232.

II. To

As the fall of the Earl of Huntly is the moſt important event of this year, it would have been improper to interrupt the narrative, by taking notice of leſſer tranſactions, which may now be related with equal propriety. Book III. 1562.

In the beginning of ſummer, Mary, who was deſirous of entering into more intimate correſpondence and familiarity with Elizabeth, employed Maitland to deſire a perſonal interview with her, ſomewhere in the north of England. As this propoſal could not be rejected with decency, the time, the place, and the circumſtances of the meeting were inſtantly agreed upon. But Elizabeth was prudent enough not to admit into her kingdom, a rival, who outſhone herſelf, ſo far, in beauty, and gracefulneſs of perſon; and who excelled, ſo eminently, in all the arts of inſinuation and ad- An interview between Elizabeth and Mary propoſed.

II. To ſuppoſe that the Earl of Huntly had laid any plan for ſeizing the Queen, and her Miniſters, ſeems to be no leſs improbable. 1. On the Queen's arrival in the north, he laboured, in good earneſt, to gain her favour, and to obtain a pardon for his ſon. Knox, 318. 2. He met the Queen, firſt at Aberdeen, and then at Rothemay, whither he would not have ventured to come, had he harboured any ſuch treaſonable reſolution. Knox, 318. 3. His conduct was irreſolute and wavering, like that of a man diſconcerted by an unforeſeen danger, not like one executing a concerted plan. 4. The moſt conſiderable Perſons of his plan ſubmitted to the Queen, and found ſurety to obey her commands, Keith, 226. Had the Earl been previouſly determined to riſe in arms againſt the Queen, or to ſeize her Miniſters, it is probable he would have imparted it to his principal followers, nor would they have deſerted him in this manner.

For theſe reaſons, we have, on the one hand, vindicated the Earl of Murray from any deliberate intention of ruining the family of Gordon; and on the other hand, we have imputed the violent conduct of the Earl of Huntly, to a ſudden ſtart of reſentment, without charging him with any premeditated purpoſe of rebellion.

Book III. 1562. dreſs. Under pretence of being confined to London, by the attention which ſhe was obliged to give to the civil wars in France, ſhe put off the interview for that ſeaſon*, and prevented her ſubjects from ſeeing the Scottiſh Queen, the charms of whoſe appearance, and behaviour, ſhe envied, and had ſome reaſon to dread.

June 2. December 25. DURING this year, the Aſſembly of the church met twice. In both theſe meetings, were exhibited many complaints of the poverty and dependence of the church; and many murmurs againſt the negligence or avarice of thoſe, who had been appointed to collect, and to diſtribute the ſmall fund, appropriated for the maintenance of preachers†. A petition, craving redreſs of their grievances, was preſented to the Queen; but without any effect. There was no reaſon to expect that Mary would diſcover any forwardneſs to grant the requeſts of ſuch ſupplicants. And as her Miniſters, though all moſt zealous Proteſtants, were themſelves growing rich on the inheritance of the church, they were equally regardleſs of the indigence and demands of their brethren.

1563. Negociations with regard to the Queen's marriage. MARY had now continued above two years in a ſtate of widowhood. Her gentle adminiſtration had ſecured the hearts of her ſubjects, who were impatient for her marriage, and wiſhed the Crown to deſcend in the right line from their ancient Monarchs. She herſelf was the moſt amiable woman of the age, and the fame of her accompliſhments, together with the favourable circumſtance of her having one kingdom already in her poſſeſſion, and the proſpect of mounting the throne of another, prompted many different Princes to ſolicit an alliance ſo illuſtrious. Scotland, by its ſituation, threw ſo much weight and power into whatever

* Keith, 216. † Knox, 311, 323.

ſcale it fell, that all Europe waited with ſolicitude for Mary's determination. And no event in that age excited ſtronger political fears and jealouſies; none intereſted more deeply the paſſions of ſeveral Princes, or gave riſe to more contradictory intrigues, than the marriage of the Scottiſh Queen. BOOK III. 1563.

She is ſolicited by different Princes.

THE Princes of the houſe of Auſtria remembered what vaſt projects the French had founded on their former alliance with the Queen of Scots; and though the unexpected death, firſt of Henry and then of Francis, had hindered theſe from taking effect, yet if Mary ſhould again make choice of a huſband among the French Princes, the ſame deſigns might be revived and proſecuted with better ſucceſs.

By the Archduke Charles.

IN order to prevent this, the Emperor entered into a negociation with the Cardinal of Lorrain, who had propoſed to marry the Scottiſh Queen to the Archduke Charles, Ferdinand's third ſon. The matter was communicated to Mary; and Melvil, who, at that time, attended the Elector Palatine, was commanded to inquire into the character and ſituation of the Archduke *.

By Don Carlos of Spain.

PHILIP II. though no leſs apprehenſive of Mary's falling once more into the hands of France, envied his uncle Ferdinand the acquiſition of ſo important a prize; and as his own inſatiable ambition graſped at all the kingdoms of Europe, he employed his ambaſſador at the French court, to ſolicit the Princes of Lorrain in behalf of his ſon Don Carlos, at that time, the heir of all the extenſive dominions, which belonged to the Spaniſh monarchy †.

* Melv. 63, 65. Keith, 239. See Append. N° VII.

† Caſteln. 461. Addit. de Labor. 501, 503.

CATHERINE

Book III. 1563. By the Duke of Anjou.

CATHERINE of Medicis, on the other hand, dreaded the marriage of the Scottiſh Queen with any of the Auſtrian Princes, which would have added ſo much to the power and pretenſions of that ambitious race. Her jealouſy of the Princes of Lorrain rendered her no leſs averſe from an alliance, which, by ſecuring them the protection of the Emperor or King of Spain, would give new boldneſs to their enterpriſing ſpirit, and enable them to ſet the power of the Crown, which they already rivalled, at open defiance: And as ſhe was afraid that theſe ſplendid propoſals of the Auſtrian family would dazzle the young Queen, ſhe inſtantly diſpatched Caſtelnau into Scotland, to offer her in marriage the Duke of Anjou, the brother of her former huſband, who ſoon after mounted the throne of France *.

Mary's deliberations concerning it.

MARY attentively weighed the pretenſions of ſo many rivals. The Archduke had little to recommend him, but his high birth. The example of Henry VIII. was a warning againſt contracting a marriage with the brother of her former huſband; nor could ſhe bear the thoughts of appearing in France, in a rank inferior to that which ſhe had formerly held in that kingdom. She liſtened therefore, with partiality, to the Spaniſh propoſitions, and the proſpect of ſuch vaſt power and dominions flattered the ambition of a young and aſpiring Princeſs.

THREE ſeveral circumſtances, however, concurred to divert Mary from any thoughts of a foreign alliance.

The firſt of theſe was the murder of her uncle the Duke of Guiſe. The violence and ambition of that nobleman had involved

* Caſtelnau. 461.

his

his country in a civil war; which was conducted with furious animoſity, and various ſucceſs. At laſt the Duke laid ſiege to Orleans, the bulwark of the Proteſtant cauſe; and he had reduced that city to the laſt extremity, when he was aſſaſſinated by the frantic zeal of Poltrot. This blow proved fatal to the Queen of Scots. The young Duke was a minor. And the Cardinal, though ſubtle and intriguing, wanted that undaunted and enterpriſing courage, which rendered the ambition of his brother ſo formidable. Catherine, inſtead of encouraging the ambition, or furthering the pretenſions of her daughter-in-law, took pleaſure in mortifying the one, and in diſappointing the other. In this ſituation, and without ſuch a protector, it became neceſſary for Mary to contract her views, and to proceed with caution; and whatever proſpect of advantage might allure her, ſhe could venture upon no dangerous or doubtful meaſure. BOOK III. 1563.

THE ſecond circumſtance, which weighed with Mary, was the opinion of the Queen of England. The marriage of the Scottiſh Queen intereſted Elizabeth more deeply than any other Prince; and ſhe obſerved all her deliberations concerning it with the moſt anxious attention. She herſelf ſeems early to have formed a reſolution of living unmarried, and ſhe diſcovered no ſmall inclination to impoſe the ſame law on the Queen of Scots. She had already experienced what uſe might be made of Mary's power and pretenſions, to invade her dominions, and to diſturb her poſſeſſion of the Crown. The death of Francis II, had happily delivered her from this danger, which ſhe determined to guard againſt for the future, with the utmoſt care. And as the reſtleſs ambition of the Auſtrian Princes, the avowed and bigotted patrons of the Catholic ſuperſtition, made her, in a particular manner, dread their neighbourhood, ſhe The views of Elizabeth.

BOOK III. 1563.

ſhe inſtructed Randolph, to remonſtrate, in the ſtrongeſt terms, againſt any alliance with them; and to acquaint Mary, that as ſhe herſelf would conſider ſuch a match to be a breach of the perſonal friendſhip, in which they were ſo happily united; ſo the Engliſh nation would regard it, as the diſſolution of that confederacy which now ſubſiſted between the two kingdoms. That, in order to preſerve their own religion and liberties, they would, in all probability, take ſome ſtep prejudicial to her right of ſucceſſion, which, as ſhe well knew, they neither wanted power nor pretences to invalidate, and ſet aſide. This threatening was accompanied with a promiſe, but expreſſed in very ambiguous terms, that if Mary's choice of a huſband ſhould prove agreeable to the Engliſh nation, Elizabeth would appoint proper perſons to examine her title to the ſucceſſion, and, if well founded, command it to be publickly recognized. She obſerved, however, a myſterious ſilence concerning the perſon, on whom ſhe wiſhed the choice of the Scottiſh Queen to fall. The revealing of this ſecret was reſerved for ſome future negociation. Mean while ſhe threw out ſome obſcure hints, that a native of Britain, or one not of princely rank, would be her ſafeſt and moſt inoffenſive choice *. An advice offered with ſuch an air of ſuperiority and command, mortified, no doubt, the pride of the Scottiſh Queen. But, under her preſent circumſtances, ſhe was obliged to bear this indignity. Deſtitute of all foreign aſſiſtance, and intent upon the Engliſh ſucceſſion, the great object of her wiſhes and ambition, it became neceſſary to court a rival, whom, without manifeſt imprudence, ſhe could not venture to offend.

The ſentiments of her own ſubjects.

THE inclination of her own ſubjects was another, and not the leaſt conſiderable circumſtance, which called for Mary's attention

* Keith, 242, 245.

at

at this conjuncture. They had been taught, by the fatal experiment of her former marriage, to dread an union with any great Prince, whoſe power might be employed to oppreſs their religion and liberties. They trembled at the thoughts of a match with a foreigner; and if the Crown ſhould be ſtrengthened by new dominions, or alliances, they foreſaw that the royal prerogative would ſoon be ſtretched beyond its ancient and legal limits. Their eagerneſs to prevent this could ſcarce fail of throwing them into the arms of England. Elizabeth would be ready to afford them her aid, towards obſtructing a meaſure ſo diſagreeable to herſelf. 'Twas eaſy for them to ſeize the perſon of the Sovereign. By the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh fleet, they could render it difficult for any foreign Prince to land in Scotland. The Roman Catholics, now an inconſiderable party in the kingdom, and diſpirited by the loſs of the Earl of Huntly, could give no obſtruction to their deſigns. To what violent extremes, the national abhorrence of a foreign yoke might have been carried is manifeſt from the tranſactions both previous, and ſubſequent to the preſent period.

1563.

FOR theſe reaſons, Mary laid aſide, at that time, all thoughts of a foreign alliance, and ſeemed willing to ſacrifice her own ambition, in order to remove the jealouſies of Elizabeth, and to quiet the fears of her own ſubjects.

THE Parliament met this year, for the firſt time, ſince the Queen's return into Scotland. Mary's adminiſtration had hitherto been extremely popular. Her Miniſters poſſeſſed the confidence of the nation. And, by conſequence, the proceedings of that aſſembly were conducted with perfect unanimity. The grant of the earldom of Murray to the Prior of St. Andrew's was confirmed: the

A parliament held, May 26.

Book III. 1563. Earl of Huntly, and ſeveral of his vaſſals and dependants were attainted: the attainder againſt Kirkaldy of Grange, and ſome of his accomplices in the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, was reverſed*: the act of oblivion, mentioned in the treaty of Edinburgh, received the royal ſanction. But Mary, who had determined never to ratify that treaty, took care that this ſanction ſhould not be deemed any acknowledgment of its validity; ſhe granted her conſent merely in condeſcenſion to the Lords in Parliament, who, on their knees, beſought her to allay the jealouſies and apprehenſions of her ſubjects, by ſuch a gracious law †.

Nothing determined with regard to religion.

No attempt was made, in this Parliament, to procure the Queen's aſſent to the laws eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant religion. Her Miniſters, though zealous Proteſtants themſelves, were aware that this could not be urged without manifeſt danger and imprudence. She had conſented, through their influence, to tolerate and protect the reformed doctrine. They had even prevailed on her to impriſon and proſecute the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, and Prior of Whithorn, for celebrating maſs contrary to her proclamation ‡. Mary however, was ſtill paſſionately devoted to the Romiſh ſuperſtition. Though, from political motives, ſhe had granted a temporary protection to opinions, which ſhe diſapproved, there were no grounds to hope that ſhe would agree to eſtabliſh them for perpetuity. The moderation of thoſe who profeſſed it, was the beſt method for reconciling the Queen to the Proteſtant religion. Time might abate her bigotry. Her prejudices might wear off gradually, and at laſt ſhe might yield to the wiſhes of her people, what their importunity or their violence could never have extorted. Many laws of import-

* Knox, 330. † Spotſw. 188. ‡ Keith, 239.

ance

ance were to be propoſed in Parliament; and to defeat all theſe, by ſuch a fruitleſs and ill-timed application to the Queen, would have been equally injurious to individuals, and detrimental to the public. BOOK III. 1563.

THE zeal of the proteſtant clergy was deaf to all theſe conſiderations of policy. Eager and impatient it brooked no delay. Severe and inflexible, it would condeſcend to no compliances. The leading men of that order inſiſted, that this opportunity of eſtabliſhing religion by law, was not to be neglected. They pronounced the moderation of the courtiers, apoſtacy; and their endeavours to gain the Queen, they reckoned criminal and ſervile. Knox ſolemnly renounced the friendſhip of the Earl of Murray, as a man devoted to Mary, and ſo blindly zealous for her ſervice, as to become regardleſs of thoſe objects which he had hitherto eſteemed moſt ſacred. This rupture, which is a ſtrong proof of Murray's ſincere attachment to the Queen at that period, continued above a year and an half*. Which offends the clergy.

THE preachers being diſappointed by the men in whom they placed the greateſt confidence, gave vent to their indignation in their pulpits. Theſe ecchoed more loudly than ever, with declarations againſt idolatry; with diſmal preſages concerning the Queen's marriage with a foreigner; and with bitter reproaches againſt thoſe, who, from intereſted motives, had deſerted that cauſe, which they once reckoned it their honour to ſupport. The people, inflamed by theſe vehement declamations, which were dictated by a zeal more ſincere than prudent, proceeded to raſh and unjuſtifiable acts of vio- And occaſions a tumult among the people.

* Knox, 331.

Book III. lence. During the Queen's abſence, on a progreſs into the weſt, maſs continued to be celebrated in her chapel at Holy-rood-houſe. The multitude of thoſe who openly reſorted thither, gave great offence to the citizens of Edinburgh, who, being free from the reſtraint which the royal preſence impoſed, aſſembled in a riotous manner, interrupted the ſervice, and filled thoſe who were preſent, with the utmoſt conſternation. Two of the ringleaders in this tumult were ſeized, and a day appointed for their trial*.

1563. Auguſt.

Knox tried on that account, but acquitted. October 8.

KNOX, who eſteemed the zeal of theſe perſons laudable, and their conduct meritorious, conſidered them as ſufferers in a good cauſe; and in order to ſcreen them from danger, he iſſued circular letters, requiring all who profeſſed the true religion, or were concerned for the preſervation of it, to aſſemble at Edinburgh on the day of trial, that by their preſence, they might comfort and aſſiſt their diſtreſſed brethren †. One of theſe letters fell into the Queen's hands. To aſſemble the ſubjects without the authority of the Sovereign, was conſtrued to be treaſon, and a reſolution was taken to proſecute Knox for that crime, before the Privy Council. Happily for him, his judges were not only zealous Proteſtants, but the very men, who, during the late commotions, had openly reſiſted, and ſet at defiance the Queen's authority. It was under precedents, drawn from their own conduct, that Knox endeavoured to ſhelter himſelf. Nor would it have been an eaſy matter for theſe Counſellors to have found out a diſtinction, by which they could cenſure him, without condemning themſelves. After a long hearing, he was unanimouſly acquitted. Sinclair Biſhop of Roſs, and Preſident of the Court of Seſſion, a zealous Papiſt, heartily concurred with the other Counſellors in

Decem. 15.

* Knox, 335. † Ibid. 236.

this

3

this deciſion *; a remarkable fact, which ſhows the unſettled ſtate of government in that age; the low condition to which regal authority was then ſunk; and the impunity with which ſubjects might invade thoſe rights of the Crown, which are now held ſacred. BOOK III. 1563.

THE marriage of the Scottiſh Queen continued ſtill to be the object of attention and intrigue. Though Elizabeth, even while ſhe wiſhed to direct Mary, treated her with a diſguſtful reſerve; though ſhe kept her, without neceſſity, in a ſtate of ſuſpence; and hinted often at the perſon, whom ſhe deſtined to be her huſband, without directly mentioning his name; yet Mary framed all her actions to expreſs ſuch a prudent reſpect for the Engliſh Queen, that foreign Princes began to imagine ſhe had given herſelf up implicitly to her direction †. The proſpect of this union alarmed Catherine of Medicis. Though Catherine had taken pleaſure, all along, in doing ill offices to the Queen of Scots; though ſoon after the Duke of Guiſe's death, ſhe had put upon her a moſt mortifying indignity, by ſtopping the payment of her dowry, by depriving her ſubject the Duke of Chatelherault of his penſion, and by beſtowing the command of the Scottiſh Guards on a Frenchman ‡; ſhe reſolved, however, to prevent this dangerous conjunction of the Britiſh Queens. For this purpoſe, ſhe now employed all her art to appeaſe Mary ‖, to whom ſhe had given ſo many cauſes of offence. The arrears of her dowry were inſtantly paid; more punctual remittances were promiſed for the future; and offers made, not only to reſtore, but to extend the privileges of the Scottiſh nation in France. It was eaſy for Mary to penetrate into the motives of this ſudden change; ſhe well knew the character of her mother-

1564. Negociations with regard to the Queen's marriage.

* Knox, 343. † Keith, 248. ‡ Id. 244. ‖ See Appendix, N° VIII.

in-

Book III. 1564. in-law, and laid little ſtreſs upon profeſſions of friendſhip, which came from a Princeſs of ſuch a falſe and unfeeling heart.

March. Elizabeth recommends Leiceſter to her for a huſband.

The negociation with England, relative to the marriage, ſuffered no interruption, from this application of the French Queen. As Mary, in compliance to her ſubjects, and preſſed by the ſtrongeſt motives of intereſt, determined ſpeedily to marry, Elizabeth was obliged to break that unaccountable ſilence, which ſhe had hitherto affected. The ſecret was diſcloſed, and her favourite Lord Robert Dudley, afterwards Earl of Leiceſter, was declared to be the happy man, whom ſhe had choſen to be the huſband of a Queen, courted by ſo many Princes *.

Elizabeth's wiſdom and penetration were remarkable in the choice of her Miniſters; in diſtinguiſhing her favourites, thoſe great qualities were leſs conſpicuous. She was influenced in two caſes ſo oppoſite, by merit of very different kinds. Their capacity for buſineſs, their knowledge, their prudence, were the talents to which alone ſhe attended, in chuſing her Miniſters; whereas beauty and gracefulneſs of perſon, poliſhed manners, and courtly addreſs, were the accompliſhments on which ſhe beſtowed her favour. She acted in the one caſe with the wiſdom of a Queen, in the other, ſhe diſcovered the weakneſs of a woman. To this Leiceſter owed his grandeur. Though remarkable neither for eminence in virtue, nor ſuperiority of abilities, the Queen's partiality diſtinguiſhed him on every occaſion. She raiſed him to the higheſt honours, ſhe beſtowed on him the moſt important employments, and manifeſted an affection ſo diſproportionate to his merit, that, in the opinion

* Keith, 251.

of

of that age, it could be accounted for only by the power of planetary influence *. BOOK III. 1564.

THE high ſpirit of the Scottiſh Queen could not well bear the firſt overture of a match with a ſubject. Her own rank, the ſplendor of her former marriage, and the ſolicitations, at this time, of ſo many powerful Princes, crouded into her thoughts, and made her ſenſibly feel how humbling and diſreſpectful Eiizabeth's propoſal was. She diſſembled, however with the Engliſh Reſident; and though ſhe declared, in ſtrong terms, what a degradation ſhe would deem this alliance, which brought along with it no advantage, that could juſtify ſuch neglect of her own dignity, ſhe mentioned the Earl of Leiceſter, notwithſtanding, in terms full of reſpect †. Mary offended at this.

ELIZABETH, we may preſume, did not wiſh that the propoſal ſhould be received in any other manner. After the extraordinary marks ſhe had given of her own attachment to Leiceſter, and while he was ſtill in the very height of favour, it is not probable ſhe could think ſeriouſly of beſtowing him upon another. 'Twas not her aim to perſuade, but only to amuſe Mary ‡. Almoſt three years were elapſed ſince her return into Scotland; and though ſolicited by her ſubjects, and courted by the greateſt Princes in Europe, ſhe had hitherto been prevented from marrying, chiefly by the artifices of Elizabeth. And if, at this time, the Engliſh Queen could have engaged Mary to liſten to her propoſal in favour of Leiceſter, her power over this creature of her own would have enabled her to protract the negociation at pleaſure; and by keeping her rival unmarried, ſhe would have rendered the proſpect of her ſucceſſion leſs acceptable to the Engliſh. Elizabeth's views in recommending him.

* Camden, 549. † Keith, 252. ‡ Melv. 104, 105.

LEICESTER'S

Book III. 1564.

Leicester's own ſituation was extremely delicate, and embaraſſing. To gain poſſeſſion of the moſt amiable woman of the age, to carry away this prize from ſo many contending Princes, to mount the throne of an ancient kingdom, might have flattered the ambition of a ſubject, much more conſiderable than him. He ſaw all theſe advantages, no doubt; and, in ſecret, they made their full impreſſion on him. But, without offending Elizabeth, he durſt not venture on the moſt diſtant diſcovery of his ſentiments, or take any ſtep towards facilitating his acquiſition of objects ſo worthy of deſire.

On the other hand, Elizabeth's partiality towards him, which ſhe was at no pains to conceal*, might inſpire him with hopes of attaining the ſupreme rank in a kingdom, more illuſtrious than Scotland. Elizabeth had often declared, that nothing but her reſolution to lead a ſingle life, and his being born her own ſubject, would have hindred her from chuſing the Earl of Leiceſter for a huſband. Such conſiderations of prudence are, however, often ſurmounted by love; and Leiceſter might flatter himſelf, that the violence of her affection would at length triumph both over the maxims of policy, and the ſcruples of pride. Theſe hopes induced him, now and then, to conclude the propoſal of his marriage with the Scottiſh Queen to be a project for his deſtruction; and he imputed it to the malice of Cecil, who, under the ſpecious pretence of doing him honour, intended to ruin him in the good opinion both of Elizabeth and Mary †.

A Treaty of marriage, propoſed by one Queen, who dreaded its ſucceſs; liſtened to by another, who was ſecretly determined

* Melv. 93, 94. † Ibid. 101.

againſt

againſt it; and ſcarce deſired by the man himſelf, whoſe intereſt and reputation it was calculated, in appearance, to promote; could not, under ſo many unfavourable circumſtances, be brought to a fortunate iſſue. Both Elizabeth and Mary continued, however, to act with equal diſſimulation. The former, notwithſtanding her fears of loſing Leiceſter, ſolicited warmly in his behalf. The latter, though ſhe began about this time to caſt her eyes upon another ſubject of England, did not, at once, venture finally to reject Elizabeth's favourite. BOOK III. 1564.

THE perſon towards whom Mary began to turn her thoughts, was Henry Stewart Lord Darnly, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Lennox. That nobleman, having been driven out of Scotland under the regency of the Duke of Chatelherault, had lived in baniſhment for twenty years. His wife, Lady Margaret Douglas, was Mary's moſt dangerous rival in her claim upon the Engliſh ſucceſſion. She was the daughter of Margeret, the eldeſt ſiſter of Henry VIII. by the Earl of Angus, whom that Queen married after the death of her huſband James IV. In that age, the right and order of ſucceſſion was not ſettled with the ſame accuracy, as at preſent. Time, and the deciſion of almoſt every caſe that can poſſibly happen, have at laſt introduced certainty into a matter, which, naturally, is ſubject to all the variety, ariſing from the caprice of lawyers, guided by obſcure, and often imaginary analogies. Lady Lennox, though born of a ſecond marriage, was one degree nearer the royal blood of England, than Mary. She was the daughter, Mary only the grandaughter of Margaret. This was not the only advantage over Mary which Lady Lennox enjoyed. She was born in England, and by a maxim of law in that country, with regard to private inheritances, "whoever is not born in England, or at leaſt

Mary entertains thoughts of marrying Lord Darnly.

Book III. 1564.

of parents, who, at the time of his birth, were in the obedience of the King of England, cannot enjoy any inheritance in the kingdom *." This maxim, Hales, an Engliſh lawyer, produced in a treatiſe, which he publiſhed at this time, and endeavoured to apply it to the right of ſucceſſion to the Crown. In a private cauſe, theſe pretexts might have given riſe to a long and doubtful litigation; where a Crown was at ſtake, ſuch nice diſputes and ſubtleties were to be avoided with the utmoſt care. If Darnly ſhould happen to contract an alliance with any of the powerful families in England, or ſhould publickly profeſs the Proteſtant religion, theſe plauſible and popular topics might be ſo urged, as to prove fatal to the pretenſions of a foreigner, and of a Papiſt.

MARY was aware of all this; and in order to prevent any danger from that quarter, had early endeavoured to cultivate a friendly correſpondence with the family of Lennox. In the year 1562 †, both the Earl and the Lady Margaret were taken into cuſtody by Elizabeth's orders, on account of their holding a ſecret correſpondence with the Scottiſh Queen.

Elizabeth ſecretly leaſed with this.

FROM the time that Mary became ſenſible of the difficulties, which would attend her marrying a foreign Prince, ſhe entered into a ſtill cloſer connexion with the Earl of Lennox ‡, and invited him to return into Scotland. This ſhe endeavoured to conceal from Elizabeth; but a tranſaction of ſo much importance did not eſcape the notice of that diſcerning Princeſs. She obſerved, but did not interrupt it. Nothing could fall in more perfectly with her views, concerning Scottiſh affairs. She was pleaſed to ſee the pride of

* Carte, Hiſt. of Eng. vol. iii. 422. † Camd. 389. ‡ Id. 396.

the

the Scottiſh Queen ſtoop, at laſt, to the thoughts of taking a ſub- BOOK III.
ject to her bed. Darnly was in no ſituation to excite her jealouſy, 1564.
or her fears. His father's eſtate lay in England, and by means of this pledge, ſhe hoped to keep the negociation entirely in her own hands, and to play the ſame game of artifice and delay, which ſhe had planned out, if her recommendation of Leiceſter had been more favourably received.

As before the union of the two crowns, no ſubject of one kingdom could paſs into the other without the permiſſion of both Sovereigns; no ſooner did Lennox, under pretence of proſecuting his wife's claim upon the earldom of Angus, apply to Elizabeth for her licence to go into Scotland, than he obtained it. Together with it, ſhe gave him letters, warmly recommending his perſon and cauſe to Mary's friendſhip and protection *. But, at the ſame time, as it was her manner to involve all her tranſactions with regard to Scotland, in ſome degree of perplexity and contradiction; ſhe warned Mary, that this indulgence to Lennox might prove fatal to herſelf, as his return could not fail of reviving the ancient animoſity betwen him and the houſe of Hamilton.

THIS admonition gave umbrage to Mary, and drew from her an angry reply, which occaſioned, for ſome time a total interruption of all correſpondence between the two Queens †. Mary was not a little alarmed at this; ſhe both dreaded the effects of Elizabeth's reſentment, and ſuffered, by being deprived of a free intercourſe with England, where her Ambaſſadors had, all along, carried on, with

* Keith, 255, 268. † Ibid. 253. Melv. 83.

Book III. 1564. ſome ſucceſs, ſecret negociations, which increaſed the number of her partizans, and paved her way towards the throne. In order to remove the cauſes of the preſent difficulty, Melvil was ſent expreſs to the court of England. He found it no difficult matter to bring about a reconcilement; and ſoon re-eſtabliſhed the appearance, but not the confidence of friendſhip, which was all that had ſubſiſted, for ſome time, between the two Queens.

During this negociation, Elizabeth's profeſſions of love to Mary and Melvil's replies in name of his Miſtreſs, were made in the language of the warmeſt and moſt cordial friendſhip. But what Melvil truly obſerves, with reſpect to Elizabeth, may be extended without injuſtice to both Queens. "There was neither plain dealing, nor upright meaning, but great diſſimulation, envy and fear *."

Lennox arrives in Scotland.

Lennox, however, in conſequence of the licence which he had obtained, ſet out for Scotland, and was received by the Queen, not only with the reſpect due to a nobleman, ſo nearly allied to the royal family, but treated with a diſtinguiſhed familiarity, which could not fail of inſpiring him with more elevated hopes. The rumour of his ſon's marriage to the Queen began to ſpread over the kingdom; and the eyes of all Scotland were turned upon him, as the father of their future Maſter. The Duke of Chatelherault was the firſt to take the alarm. He conſidered Lennox, as the ancient and hereditary enemy of the houſe of Hamilton; and, in his grandeur, ſaw the ruin of himſelf and his friends. But the Queen interpoſed her authority to prevent any violent rupture, and employed

* Melvil, 104.

all her influence to bring about an accommodation of their differences *. BOOK III. 1564.

THE powerful family of Douglas no leſs dreaded Lennox's return, from an apprehenſion, that he would wreſt the earldom of Angus out of their hands. But the Queen, who well knew how dangerous it would be to irritate Morton, and other great men of that name, prevailed on Lennox to purchaſe their friendſhip, by allowing his Lady's claim upon the earldom of Angus to drop †.

AFTER theſe preliminary ſteps, Mary ventured to call a meeting of Parliament. The act of forfeiture, paſſed againſt Lennox in the year 1545, was repealed, and he was publickly reſtored to the honours and eſtate of his anceſtors ‡. December,

THE eccleſiaſtical tranſactions of this year were not conſiderable. In the aſſemblies of the church, the ſame complaints of the increaſe of idolatry, the ſame repreſentations concerning the poverty of the clergy, were renewed. The reply which the Queen made to theſe, and her promiſes of redreſs, were more ſatisfying to the Proteſtants, than any they had hitherto obtained ‖. But, notwithſtanding theſe declarations in their favour, they could not help harbouring many ſuſpicions concerning Mary's deſigns againſt their religion. She had never once conſented to hear any preacher of the reformed doctrine, She had abated nothing of her bigoted attachment to the Romiſh faith. The genius of that ſuperſtition, averſe at all times, from toleration, was, in that age, fierce and unrelenting. Mary had given her friends on the Continent repeated aſſurances of June 25. Decem. 25. The Clergy ſuſpicious of the Queen's zeal for Popery.

* Keith, 259. † Id. 268. Not. (*b*). ‡ See Appendix, N° IX.
‖ Id. 533, 539.

her

Book III. 1564. her reſolution to re-eſtabliſh the Catholic church *. She had induſtriouſly avoided every opportunity of ratifying the acts of Parliament 1560, in favour of the Reformation. Even the protection, which ever ſince her return, ſhe had afforded the Proteſtant religion, was merely temporary, and declared by her own proclamation to be of force, only "till ſhe ſhould take ſome final order in the matter of religion †." The vigilant zeal of the preachers was inattentive to none of theſe circumſtances. The coldneſs of their principal leaders, who were, at this time, entirely devoted to the court, added to their jealouſies and fears. Theſe they uttered to the people, in language which they eſteemed ſuitable to the neceſſity of the times, and which the Queen reckoned diſreſpectful, and inſolent. In a meeting of the General Aſſembly, Maitland publickly accuſed Knox of teaching ſeditious doctrine, concerning the right of ſubjects to reſiſt thoſe Sovereigns, who treſpaſs againſt the duty which they owe to the people. Knox was not backward to juſtify what he had taught. And upon this general doctrine of reſiſtance, ſo juſt in its own nature, but ſo delicate in its application to particular caſes, there enſued a debate, which admirably diſplays the talents and character of both the diſputants; the acuteneſs of the former, embelliſhed with learning, but prone to ſubtlety; the vigorous underſtanding of the latter, delighting in bold ſentiments, and ſuperior to all fear ‡.

1565. Diſſimulation both of Elizabeth and Mary, with regard to her marriage.

Two years had already been conſumed, in fruitleſs negociations concerning the marriage of the Scottiſh Queen. Mary had full leiſure and opportunity to diſcern the fallacy and deceit of all Elizabeth's proceedings, with reſpect to that affair. But, in order to ſet the real intentions of the Engliſh Queen in a clear light, and to bring

* Carte, vol. iii. 415. † Keith, 504, 510. ‡ Knox, 349.

her to ſome explicit declaration of her ſentiments, Mary, at laſt, in- BOOK III.
timated to Randolph, that, on condition her right of ſucceſſion to 1565.
the Crown of England were publickly acknowledged, ſhe was ready February 5.
to yield to the ſolicitations of his Miſtreſs in behalf of Leiceſter *. Nothing could be farther than this from the mind and intention of Elizabeth. The right of ſucceſſion was a myſtery, which, during her whole reign, her jealouſy preſerved untouched, and unexplained. She had promiſed, however, when ſhe firſt began to intereſt herſelf in the marriage of the Scottiſh Queen, all that was now demanded. How to retreat with decency, how to elude her former offer, was, on that account, not a little perplexing.

THE facility, with which Lord Darnley obtained permiſſion to viſit the court of Scotland, was owing, in all probability, to that embarraſſment. From the time of Melvil's embaſſy, Lady Lennox had warmly ſolicited this liberty for her ſon. Elizabeth was no ſtranger to the ambitious hopes, with which that young nobleman flattered himſelf. She had received repeated advices from her Miniſters, of the ſentiments, which Mary began to entertain in his favour †. It was entirely in her power, to prevent his ſtirring out of London. In the preſent conjuncture, however, nothing could be of more advantage to her, than Darnly's journey into Scotland. She had already brought one actor upon the ſtage, who, under her management, had, for a long time, amuſed the Scottiſh Queen. She hoped, no leſs abſolutely, to direct the motions of Darnly, who was likewiſe her ſubject; and again to involve Mary in all the tedious intricacies of negociation. Theſe motives determined Elizabeth and her Miniſters to yield to the ſolicitations of Lady Lennox.

* Keith, 269. † Id. 259, 261, 266.

BUT

BOOK III. BUT this deep laid ſcheme was in a moment diſconcerted. Such unexpected events, as the fancy of poets aſcribes to love, are, at ſome times, really produced by that paſſion. An affair, which had been the object of ſo many political intrigues, and had movedand intereſted ſo many Princes, was at laſt decided by the ſudden liking of two young perſons. Lord Darnly was, at this time, in the firſt bloom and vigour of youth. In beauty, and gracefulneſs of perſon, he ſurpaſſed all his cotemporaries; he excelled, eminently, in thoſe arts, which add eaſe and elegance to external form, and which enable it not only to dazzle, but to pleaſe. Mary was of an age, and of a temper, to feel the full power of theſe accompliſhments. The impreſſion which Lord Darnley made upon her, was viſible, from the time of their firſt interview. The whole buſineſs of the court was to amuſe, and entertain this illuſtrious gueſt *; and in all thoſe ſcenes of gaiety, Darnly, whoſe qualifications were altogether ſuperficial and ſhowy, appeared to great advantage. His conqueſt of the Queen's heart became compleat. And inclination now prompted her to conclude a marriage, the firſt thoughts of which had been ſuggeſted by conſiderations merely political.

1565.

Darnly arrives in Scotland.

Gains the Queen'sheart.

February 13.

ELIZABETH contributed, and perhaps not without deſign, to increaſe the violence of this paſſion. Soon after Darnly's arrival in Scotland, ſhe, in return to that meſſage, whereby Mary had ſignified her willingneſs to accept of Leiceſter, gave an anſwer, in ſuch terms, as plainly unravelled her original intention in that intrgue †. She promiſed, if the Scottiſh Queen's marriage with Leiceſter ſhould take place, to advance him to great honours; but with regard to her title to the Engliſh ſucceſſion, ſhe would neither ſuffer any legal inquiry to be made concerning it, nor permit

* Knox, 369. Keith, 270. Append. 158.

it

it to be publicly recognized, till ſhe herſelf ſhould declare her reſolution never to marry. Mary, notwithſtanding Elizabeth's former promiſes, had reaſon to expect every thing contained in this reply; her high ſpirit, however, could not bear, with patience, ſuch a cruel diſcovery of the contempt, the artifice, and mockery, with which, under the veil of friendſhip, ſhe had been ſo long abuſed. She burſt into tears of indignation, and expreſſed, with the utmoſt bitterneſs, her ſenſe of that diſingenuous craft, which had been employed to deceive her *. Book III. 1565.

The natural effect of this indignation was to add to the impetuoſity with which ſhe purſued her own ſcheme. Blinded by reſentment, as well as by love, ſhe obſerved no defects in the man, whom ſhe had choſen; and began to take the neceſſary ſteps towards accompliſhing her deſign, with all the impatience, natural to thoſe paſſions.

As Darnly was ſo nearly related to the Queen, the canon law made it neceſſary to obtain the Pope's diſpenſation, before the celebration of the marriage. For this purpoſe, ſhe early ſet on foot a negociation with the court of Rome †.

The French court approve of the match.

She was buſy, at the ſame time, in procuring the conſent of the French King and his mother. Having communicated her deſign, and the motives which determined her choice, to Caſtelnau the French Ambaſſador, ſhe employed him, as the moſt proper perſon, to bring his court to fall in with her views. Among other arguments to this purpoſe, Caſtelnau mentioned Mary's attachment to Darnly, which he repreſented to be ſo violent and deep-rooted,

* Keith, Append. 159. † Camd. 396.

Book III. 1565. that it was no longer in her own power to break off the match *. Nor were the French Miniſters backward in encouraging Mary's paſſion. Her pride would never ſtoop to an alliance with a ſubject of France. By this choice, they were delivered from the apprehenſion of a match with any of the Auſtrian Princes, as well as the danger of too cloſe an union with Elizabeth. And as Darnly profeſſed the Roman Catholic religion, this ſuited the bigotted ſchemes which that court had adopted.

Darnly diſguſts ſeveral of the nobles,

WHILE Mary was endeavouring to reconcile foreign courts to a meaſure which ſhe had ſo much at heart; Darnly, and his father, by their behaviour, were raiſing up enemies at home, to obſtruct it. Lennox had, during the former part of his life, diſcovered no great compaſs of abilities, or political wiſdom; and appears to have been a man of a weak underſtanding, and violent paſſions. Darnly was not ſuperior to his father in underſtanding, and all his paſſions were ſtill more impetuous †. To theſe, he added that inſolence, which the advantage of external form, when accompanied with no quality more valuable, is apt to inſpire. Intoxicated with the Queen's favour, he began already to aſſume the haughtineſs of a King, and to put on that imperious air, which majeſty itſelf can ſcarce render tolerable.

particularly Murray.

IT was by the advice, or at leaſt with the conſent of Murray, and his party, that Lennox had been invited into Scotland ‡; and yet, no ſooner did he acquire a firm footing in that kingdom, than he began to enter into ſecret cabals with thoſe noblemen, who were known to be avowed enemies to Murray, and with regard to religion, to be either neutrals, or favourers of Popery ||. Darnly, ſtill

* Caſteln. 464. † Keith, 272, 273. ‡ Knox, 367. Keith, 274. || Id. 272.

more

more imprudent, allowed ſome raſh expreſſions concerning thoſe favours, which the Queen's bounty had conferred upon Murray, to eſcape him * Book III. 1565.

BUT, above all theſe, the familiarity which Darnly cultivated with David Rizio the Italian, contributed to increaſe the ſuſpicion and diſguſt of the nobles.

The riſe of Rizio's favour.

THE low birth, and indigent condition of this man, placed him in a ſtation, in which he ought naturally to have remained unknown to poſterity. But what fortune called him to act, and to ſuffer in Scotland, obliges hiſtory to deſcend from its dignity, and to record his adventures. He was the ſon of a muſician in Turin, and having accompanied the Piedmonteſe Ambaſſador into Scotland, gained admiſſion into the Queen's family, by his ſkill in muſic. His ſervile condition had taught him ſuppleneſs of ſpirit, and inſinuating manners. He quickly crept into the Queen's favour, and her French Secretary, happening to return at that time into his own country, was preferred by her to that office. He now began to make a figure in court, and to appear as a man of weight and conſequence. The whole train of ſuitors and expectants, who have an extreme ſagacity in diſcovering the paths, which lead moſt directly to ſucceſs, applied to him. His recommendations were obſerved to have great influence over the Queen, and he grew to be conſidered, not only as a favourite, but as a Miniſter. Nor was Rizio careful to abate that envy, which always attends ſuch an extraordinary and rapid change of fortune. He ſtudied, on the contrary, to diſplay the whole extent of his favour.

* Keith, 274.

Book III. 1565.

He affected to talk often, and familiarly, with the Queen in public. He equalled the greateſt and moſt opulent ſubjects, in richneſs of dreſs, and in the number of his attendants. He diſcovered, in all his behaviour, that aſſuming inſolence, with which unmerited proſperity inſpires an ignoble mind. It was with the utmoſt indignation that the nobles beheld the power; it was with the utmoſt difficulty, that they tolerated the arrogance of this unworthy minion. Even in the Queen's preſence they could not forbear treating him with marks of contempt. Nor was it his exorbitant power alone, which exaſperated the Scots. They conſidered him, and not without reaſon, as a dangerous enemy to the Proteſtant religion, and ſuſpected that he held, for this purpoſe, a ſecret correſpondence with the court of Rome *.

Darnly's connection with him.

It was Darnly's misfortune to fall under the management of this man, who, by flattery and aſſiduity, eaſily gained on his vanity, and inexperience. Rizio's whole influence on the Queen was employed in his behalf, and contributed, without doubt, towards eſtabliſhing him more firmly in her affections †. But whatever benefit he might reap from his patronage, it did not counterbalance the contempt, and even the infamy, to which he was expoſed, on account of his familiarity with ſuch an upſtart.

Though Darnly daily made progreſs in the Queen's affections, ſhe conducted herſelf, however, with ſuch prudent reſerve, as to impoſe on Randolph the Engliſh Reſident, a man otherwiſe ſhrewd and penetrating. It appears from his letters at this period, that he entertained not the leaſt ſuſpicion of the intrigue which was carry-

* Buchan. 340. Melv. 107. † Id. 111.

ing

ing on; and gave his court repeated aſſurances, that the Scottiſh Queen had no deſign of marrying Darnly *. In the midſt of his ſecurity, Mary diſpatched Maitland to ſignify her intention to Elizabeth, and to ſolicit her conſent to the marriage with Darnly. This embaſſy was the firſt thing, which opened the eyes of Randolph.

April 18. Elizabeth declares againſt the Queen's marriage with Darnly.

Elizabeth affected the greateſt ſurprize at this ſudden reſolution of the Scottiſh Queen, but without reaſon. The train was laid by herſelf, and ſhe had no cauſe to wonder when it took effect. She expreſſed, at the ſame time, her diſapprobation of the match, in the ſtrongeſt terms; and pretended to foreſee many dangers and inconveniencies ariſing from it, to both kingdoms. But this, too, was mere affectation. Mary had often and plainly declared her reſolution to marry. It was impoſſible ſhe could make any choice more inoffenſive. The danger of introducing a foreign intereſt into Britain which Elizabeth had ſo juſtly dreaded, was entirely avoided. Darnly, though allied to both Crowns, and poſſeſſed of lands in both kingdoms, could be formidable to neither. It is evident, from all theſe circumſtances, that Elizabeth's apprehenſions of danger could not poſſibly be ſerious; and that, in all her violent declarations againſt Darnly, there was much more of grimace than of reality †.

* Keith, 273. and Append. 159.

† Even the Hiſtorians of that age acknowledge, that the marriage of the Scottiſh Queen with a ſubject was far from being diſagreeable to Elizabeth. Knox, 369, 373. Buchan, 339. Caſtelnau, who, at that time, was well acquainted with the intrigues of both the Britiſh courts, aſſerts, and upon grounds of great probability, that the match was wholly Elizabeth's own work; Caſteln. 462. and that ſhe rejoiced at the accompliſhment of it, appears from the letters of her own Ambaſſadors. Keith, 280, 288.

Book III. 1565.

There were not wanting, however, political motives of much weight, to induce that wiſe Princeſs to put on the appearance of great diſpleaſure. Mary, intimidated by this, might perhaps delay her marriage; which Elizabeth deſired to obſtruct with a weakneſs that little ſuited the dignity of her mind, and the elevation of her character. Beſides, the tranquillity of her own kingdom was the great object of Elizabeth's policy; and by declaring her diſſatisfaction with Mary's conduct, ſhe hoped to alarm that party in Scotland, which was attached to the Engliſh intereſt, and to encourage ſuch of the nobles, as ſecretly diſapproved the match, openly to oppoſe it. The ſeeds of diſcord would, by this means, be ſcattered through that kingdom. Inteſtine commotions might ariſe. Amidſt theſe, Mary could form none of thoſe dangerous ſchemes, to which the union of her people might have prompted her. She herſelf would become the umpire between her, and her contending ſubjects. And England might look on, with ſecurity, while a ſtorm, which ſhe had raiſed, waſted the only kingdom, which could poſſibly diſturb its peace.

May 1.

In proſecution of this ſcheme, ſhe laid before her Privy Council the meſſage from the Scottiſh Queen, and conſulted them with regard to the anſwer ſhe ſhould return. Their determination, it is eaſy to conceive, was perfectly conformable to her ſecret views. They drew up a remonſtrance againſt the intended match, full of the imaginary dangers, with which that event threatened the kingdom *. Nor did ſhe think it enough, to ſignify her diſapprobation of the meaſure, either by Maitland, Mary's Ambaſſador, or by Randolph, her own Reſident in Scotland; in order to add more dignity to the farce which ſhe choſe to act, ſhe appointed Sir Ni-

Sends Throgmorton to obſtruct it.

* Keith, 274. See Append. N° X.

cholas Throgmorton her Ambaſſador Extraordinary. She commanded him to declare, in the ſtrongeſt terms, her diſſatisfaction with the ſtep which Mary propoſed to take; and, at the ſame time, to produce the determination of the Privy Council, as an evidence that the ſentiments of the nation were not different from her own. Not long after, ſhe confined Lady Lennox as a priſoner firſt in her own houſe, and then ſent her to the Tower *. BOOK III. 1565.

INTELLIGENCE of all this reached Scotland, before the arrival of the Engliſh Ambaſſador. In the firſt tranſports of her indignation, Mary reſolved, no longer, to keep any meaſures with Elizabeth; and ſent orders to Maitland, who accompanied Throgmorton, to return inſtantly to the Engliſh court, and, in her name to declare to Elizabeth, that after having been amuſed ſo long to ſo little purpoſe; after having been fooled, and impoſed on ſo groſsly by her evaſive artifices; ſhe was now reſolved to gratify her own inclination, and to aſk no other conſent, but that of her own ſubjects, in the choice of an huſband. Maitland, with his uſual ſagacity, foreſaw all the effects of ſuch a raſh and angry meſſage, and ventured rather to incur the diſpleaſure of his Miſtreſs, by diſobeying her commands, than to be made the inſtrument of tearing aſunder, ſo violently, the few remaining ties, which ſtill linked together the two Queens †.

MARY herſelf ſoon became ſenſible of her error. She received the Engliſh Ambaſſador with reſpect: juſtified her own conduct with decency; and though unalterable in her reſolution, ſhe affected a wonderful ſolicitude to reconcile Elizabeth to the meaſure; and even pretended, out of complaiſance towards her, to put off the con-

* Keith, Append. 161. † Id. 160.

ſummation

Book III. 1565.

ſummation of the marriage for ſome months *. It is probable, however, that the want of the Pope's diſpenſation, and the proſpect of gaining the conſent of her own ſubjects, were the real motives of this delay.

Murray's averſion to Darnly.

THIS conſent Mary laboured with the utmoſt induſtry to obtain. The Earl of Murray was the perſon in the kingdom, whoſe concurrence was of the greateſt importance; but ſhe had reaſon to fear that it would not be procured without extreme difficulty. From the time of Lennox's return into Scotland, Murray perceived that the Queen's affections began gradually to be eſtranged from him. Darnly, Athol, Rizio, all the court favourites, combined againſt him. His ambitious ſpirit could not brook this diminution of his power, which his former ſervices had ſo little merited. He retired into the country, and gave way to rivals, with whom he was unable to contend †. The return of the Earl of Bothwell, his avowed enemy, who had been accuſed of a deſign upon his life, and who had reſided for ſome time in foreign countries, obliged him to attend to his own ſafety. No intreaty of the Queen could perſuade him to a reconcilement with that nobleman. He inſiſted on having him brought to a public trial, and prevailed, by his importunity, to have a day fixed for it. Bothwell durſt not appear in oppoſition to a man, who came to the place of trial, attended by 5000 of his followers on horſeback. He was once more conſtrained to leave the kingdom; but, by the Queen's command, the ſentence of outlawry, which is incurred by non-appearance, was not pronounced againſt him ‡.

* Keith, Appendix 278. † Id. 272, 274. Append. 159.
‡ Id. ibid. 160.

BUT

BUT Mary, ſenſible of how much importance it was, to gain a ſubject ſo powerful and ſo popular as the Earl of Murray, invited him back to court, and received him with many demonſtrations of reſpect and confidence. At laſt ſhe deſired him to ſet an example to her other ſubjects by ſubſcribing a paper, containing a formal approbation of her marriage with Darnly. Murray had many reaſons to heſitate, and even to withhold his aſſent. Darnly had not only undermined his credit with the Queen, but diſcovered, on every occaſion, a rooted averſion to his perſon. By conſenting to his elevation to the throne, he would give him ſuch an acceſſion of dignity and power, as no man willingly beſtows on an enemy. The unhappy conſequences which might follow upon a breach with England were, likewiſe, of conſiderable weight with Murray. He had always openly preferred a confederacy with England, before the ancient alliance with France. By his means chiefly, this change in the ſyſtem of national politics had been bronght about. A league with England had been eſtabliſhed; and he could not think of ſacrificing, to a raſh and youthful paſſion, an alliance of ſo much utility to the kingdom; and which, he and the other nobles were bound, by every obligation, to maintain *. Nor was the intereſt of religion forgotten on this occaſion. Mary, though ſurrounded by Proteſtant Counſellors, had found means to hold a dangerous correſpondence with foreign Catholics. She had even courted the Pope's protection, who had ſent her a ſubſidy of 8000 crowns †. Though Murray had hitherto endeavoured to bridle the zeal of the reformed clergy, and to ſet the Queen's conduct in the moſt favourable light, yet her obſtinate adherence to her own religion, could not fail of alarming him, and by her reſolution to marry a papiſt, the only hope of

Book III.

1565. May 8.

* Keith, 169. † Id. 295. Melv. 114.

Book III. 1565. reclaiming her, which remained, was for ever cut off. Each of theſe conſiderations had its influence on Murray, and all of them determined him to decline complying, at that time, with the Queen's requeſt.

May 14. A Convention of the nobles approves of the marriage.

THE convention of nobles, which was aſſembled a few days after, diſcovered a greater diſpoſition to gratify the Queen. Many of them, without heſitation, expreſſed their approbation of the intended match; but as others were ſtartled at the ſame dangers which had alarmed Murray, or were influenced by his example, to refuſe their conſent, another Convention was appointed at Perth, in order to deliberate more fully concerning this matter *.

MEAN while, Mary gave a public evidence of her own inclination, by conferring upon Darnly titles of honour peculiar to the royal family. The oppoſition ſhe had hitherto met with, and the many contrivances employed to thwart and diſappoint her inclination, produced their uſual effect on her heart, they confirmed her paſſion, and increaſed its violence. The ſimplicity of that age imputed an affection, ſo exceſſive, to the influence of witchcraft †. It was owing, however, to no other charm, than the irreſiſtible power of youth and beauty, over a young and tender heart. Darnly grew giddy with his proſperity. Flattered by the love of a Queen, and the applauſe of many among her ſubjects, his natural haughtineſs and inſolence became inſupportable, and he could no longer bear advice, far leſs contradiction. Lord Ruthven, happening to be the firſt perſon who informed him that Mary, in order to ſooth Elizabeth, had delayed, for ſome time, creating him Duke of Albany, he, in a frenzy of rage, drew his dagger and attempted to ſtab him ‡.

* Keith, 283. Knox, 373. † Keith, 283. ‡ Ibid. Append. 160.

It required all Mary's attention, to prevent his falling under that contempt, to which ſuch behaviour deſervedly expoſed him. BOOK III. 1565.

IN no ſcene of her life was ever Mary's own addreſs more remarkably diſplayed. Love ſharpened her invention, and made her ſtudy every method of gaining her ſubjects. Many of the nobles ſhe won by her careſſes, and more by her promiſes. On ſome ſhe beſtowed lands, to others ſhe gave new titles of honour *. She even condeſcended to court the Proteſtant clergy. And having invited three of their ſuperintendants to Stirling, ſhe declared, in ſtrong terms, her reſolution to protect their religion, expreſſed her willingneſs to be preſent at a conference upon the points in doctrine which were diſputed between the Proteſtants and Papiſts, and went ſo far as to ſhow ſome deſire to hear ſuch of their preachers, as were moſt remarkable for moderation †. By theſe arts, the Queen gained wonderfully upon the people, who, unleſs their jealouſy be raiſed by repeated injuries, are always ready to view the actions of their Sovereign with an indulgent eye. Mary's addreſs in gaining her ſubjects.

ON the other hand, Murray and his aſſociates were plainly the dupes of Elizabeth's policy. She talked in ſo high a ſtrain, of her diſpleaſure at the intended match; ſhe treated Lady Lennox with ſo much rigour; ſhe wrote to the Scottiſh Queen in ſuch ſtrong terms; ſhe recalled the Earl of Lennox and his ſon in ſuch a peremptory manner, and with ſuch ſevere denunciations of her vengeance, if they preſumed to diſobey ‡; that all theſe expreſſions of averſion fully perſuaded them of her ſincerity. This belief fortified their ſcruples with reſpect to the match, and encouraged them to op-

* Keith, 283. Knox, 373. ‡ Keith, 285, 286.

Book III. 1565. poſe it. They began with forming among themſelves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence; they entered into a ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh Reſident, in order to ſecure Elizabeth's aſſiſtance, when it ſhould become needful *; they endeavoured to fill the nation with ſuch apprehenſions of danger, as might counterbalance the influence of thoſe arts, which the Queen had employed.

Schemes of Darnly and Murray againſt each other.

Besides theſe intrigues, there were ſecretly carried on, by both parties, dark deſigns of a more criminal nature, and more ſuitable to the ſpirit of the age. Darnly, impatient of that oppoſition, which he imputed wholly to Murray, and reſolving at any rate to get rid of ſuch a powerful enemy, formed a plot to aſſaſſinate him, during the meeting of the Convention at Perth. Murray, on his part, deſpairing of preventing the marriage by any other means, had, together with the Duke of Chatelherault, and the Earl of Argyll, concerted meaſures for ſeizing Darnly, and carrying him a priſoner into England.

If either of theſe conſpiracies had taken effect, this Convention might have been attended with conſequences extremely tragical; but both were rendered abortive, by the vigilance or good fortune of thoſe againſt whom they were formed. Murray, being warned of his danger by ſome retainers to the court, who ſtill favoured his intereſt, avoided the blow, by not going to Perth. Mary, receiving intelligence of Murray's enterprize, retired with the utmoſt expedition, along with Darnly, to the other ſide of Forth. Conſcious, on both ſides, of guilt, and inflamed with reſentment, it was impoſſible they could either forget the violence, which themſelves

* Keith, 289, 292, 298.

ſelves had meditated, or forgive the injuries, intended againſt them. All hope of reconcilement was at an end from that moment, and their mutual enmity burſt out with every ſymptom of implacable hatred *. BOOK III. 1565.

ON

* The reality of theſe two oppoſite conſpiracies has given occaſion to many diſputes, and much contradiction. Some deny that any deſign was formed againſt the life of Murray; others call in queſtion the truth of the conſpiracy againſt Darnly. There ſeem, however, to be good reaſons for believing both; though the zeal and credulity of party-writers have added to each, many exaggerated circumſtances. The following arguments render it probable, that ſome violence was intended againſt Murray.

I. This is poſitively aſſerted by Buchanan, 341. 2. The Engliſh Reſident writes to Cecil, that Murray was aſſuredly informed that a deſign was laid to murder him at Perth, and deſcribes the manner in which this plot was to have been executed. Keith, 287. 3. Murray himſelf conſtantly and publickly affirmed, that ſuch a deſign was formed againſt his life. Keith, Ap. 108. And though he was called upon by the Queen to bring legal evidence of his aſſertion, and a ſafe conduct offered him, while he came to court for that purpoſe. Ibid. Yet whoever conſiders Murrays's ſituation, and the ſpirit of thoſe who ruled in court at that time, will ſcarce deem it any proof of his guilt, that he did not chuſe to riſk his perſon on ſuch ſecurity. 4. The furious paſſions of Darnly, the fierceneſs of his reſentment, which ſcrupled at no violence, and the manners of the age, render the imputation of ſuch a crime leſs improbable.

II. That Murray and his aſſociates had reſolved to ſeize Darnly's perſon appears with ſtill greater certainty; 1. From the expreſs teſtimony of Melvil, 112. Buchanan, p. 341, and Knox, p. 377, affect, but without reaſon, to repreſent this as an idle rumour. 2. The queſtion was put to Randolph, whether the Governor of Berwick would receive Lennox and his ſon, if they were carried priſoners to that place. This plainly ſhews, that ſome ſuch deſign was in hand, and Randolph did not diſcourage it by the anſwer which he gave. Keith, 290. 3. The precipitation, with which the Queen retired, and the reaſon ſhe gave for this ſudden flight, are mentioned by Randolph, 291. 4. A great part of the Scottiſh nobles, and among theſe the Earls

of

Book III. On Mary's return to Edinburgh, ſhe ſummoned her vaſſals by proclamation, and ſolicited them by her letters, to repair thither in arms, for the protection of her perſon againſt her foreign and domeſtic enemies *. She was obeyed with all the promptneſs and alacrity, with which ſubjects run to defend a mild and popular adminiſtration. This popularity, however, ſhe owed in a great mea-

1565. Mary ſummons her vaſſals to take arms againſt Murray.

of Argyll and Rothes, who were themſelves privy to the deſign, aſſert the reality of the conſpiracy. Good. vol. ii. 358.

All theſe circumſtances leave little room to doubt of the truth of both conſpiracies. But we may obſerve how far this proof, though drawn from public records, falls ſhort, on both ſides, of legal and formal evidence. Buchanan and Randolph, in their accounts of the conſpiracy againſt Murray, differ widely in almoſt every circumſtance. The accounts of the attempt upon Darnly, are not more conſiſtent. Melvil alledges, that the deſign of the conſpirators was to carry Darnly a priſoner into England; the propoſal made to Randolph agrees with this. Randolph ſays, that they intended to carry the Queen to St. Andrew's, and Darnly to Caſtle Campbell. The Lords, in their declaration, affirm the deſign of the conſpirators to have been to murder Darnly and his father, to confine the Queen in Lochleven during life, and to uſurp the government. To believe implicitly, whatever they find in an ancient paper, is a folly to which Antiquaries are liable. But ancient papers often contain nothing more than the ſlanders of a party, and the lie of the day. The declaration of the nobles referred to, is of this kind; it is plainly rancorous, and written in the very heat of faction. Many things are aſſerted in it, evidently falſe, or exaggerated. Let Murray and his confederates be as ambitious as we can ſuppoſe, they muſt have had ſome pretences, and plauſible ones too, before they could venture to impriſon their Sovereign for life, and to ſeize the reins of government; but, at that time, the Queen's conduct had afforded no colourable excuſe for proceeding to ſuch extremities. It is, likewiſe, remarkable, that in all the proclamations againſt Murray, of which ſo many are publiſhed in Keith, Appendix 108, &c. neither the violent attempt upon Darnly, nor that which he is alledged to have formed againſt the Queen herſelf, are ever once mentioned.

* Keith, 298.

ſure

ſure to Murray, who had directed her adminiſtration with great prudence. But the crime of oppoſing her marriage, obliterated the memory of his former ſervices; and Mary, impatient of contradiction, and apt to conſider thoſe who diſputed her will, as enemies to her perſon, determined to let him feel the whole weight of her vengeance. For this purpoſe ſhe ſummoned him to appear before her upon a ſhort warning, to anſwer to ſuch things as ſhould be laid to his charge *. At this very time, Murray, and the Lords who adhered to him, were aſſembled at Stirling, to deliberate what courſe they ſhould hold, in ſuch a difficult conjuncture But the current of popular favour ran ſo ſtrongly againſt them; and, notwithſtanding ſome fears and jealouſies, there prevailed in the nation ſuch a general diſpoſition to gratify the Queen, in a matter which ſo nearly concerned her, that, without coming to any other concluſion, than to implore the Queen of England's protection, they put an end to their ineffectual conſultations, and returned every man to his own houſe.

July 19.

TOGETHER with this diſcovery of her enemies weakneſs, the confluence of her ſubjects from all corners of the kingdom, afforded Mary an agreeable proof of her own ſtrength. While the Queen was in this proſperous ſituation, ſhe determined to bring to a period, an affair, which had ſo long engroſſed her heart, and occupied her attention. On the 29th July, ſhe married Lord Darnly. The ceremony was performed in the Queen's chapel, according to the rites of the Romiſh church; the Pope's bull, diſpenſing with their marriage, having been previouſly obtained †. She iſſued, at the ſame time, proclamations, conferring

Celebrates her marriage with Darnly.

* Keith, Append. 108. † Id. 307.

the

Book III. 1565. the title of King of Scots upon her huſband, and commanding that henceforth all writs at law ſhould run in the joint names of King and Queen*. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof of the violence of Mary's love, or the weakneſs of her councils, than this laſt ſtep. Whether ſhe had any right to chuſe a huſband, without conſent of Parliament, was, in that age, a matter of ſome diſpute †; that ſhe had no right to confer upon him, by her private authority, the title and dignity of King; or, by a ſimple proclamation, to raiſe her huſband to be the Maſter of her people, ſeems to be beyond all doubt. Francis II. indeed, bore the ſame title. It was not, however, the gift of the Queen, but of the nation; and the conſent of Parliament was obtained, before he ventured to aſſume it. Darnly's condition, as a ſubject, rendered it ſtill more neceſſary to have the concurrence of the ſupreme Council in his favour. Such a violent and unprecedented ſtretch of prerogative, as the ſubſtituting a proclamation in place of an act of Parliament, might have juſtly alarmed the nation. But the Queen poſſeſſed ſo entirely the confidence of her ſubjects, that, notwihſtanding all the clamours of the malecontents, no ſymptoms of general diſcontent appeared on that account.

Even amidſt that ſcene of joy, which always accompanies ſucceſsful love, Mary did not ſuffer the courſe of her vengeance againſt the malecontent nobles to be interrupted. Three days after the marriage, Murray was again ſummoned to court, under the ſevereſt penalties, and upon his non-appearance, the rigour of juſtice took place, and he was declared an out-law ‡. At the ſame time, the Queen ſet at liberty Lord Gordon, who ever ſince his

* Anderſon, 1. 33. See Append. N° XI. † Buchan. 341. ‡ Keith, 309, 310.

father's insurrection in the year 1562, had been detained a prisoner; she recalled the Earl of Sutherland, who, on account of his concern in that conspiracy, had fled into Flanders; and she permitted Bothwell to return again into Scotland. The first, and last of these, were among the most powerful subjects in the kingdom, and all of them animated with implacable hatred to Murray, whom they esteemed the enemy of their families, and the author of their own sufferings. This common hatred became the foundation of the strictest union with the Queen, and gained them an ascendant over all her councils. Murray himself considered this confederacy with his avowed enemies, as a more certain indication than any measure she had yet taken, of her inexorable resentment.

THE malecontents had not yet openly taken up arms *. But the Queen having ordered her subjects to march against them, they were driven to the last extremity. They found themselves unable, however, to make head against the numerous forces, which Mary had assembled; and fled into Argyllshire, in expectation of aid from Elizabeth, to whom they had secretly dispatched a messenger, in order to implore her immediate assistance †.

Marches against Murray and his associates.

MEAN while, Elizabeth endeavoured to embaras Mary, by a new declaration of her disgust at her conduct. She blamed both

Elizabeth interposes in their favour.

* After their fruitless consultation at Stirling, the Lords retired to their own houses. Keith, 304. Murray was still at St. Andrew's on July 22. Keith, 306. By the places of rendezvous, appointed for the inhabitants of the different counties, August 4, it appears that the Queen's intention was to march into Fife, the county in which Murray, Rothes, Kircaldy, and other chiefs of the malecontents resided. Keith, 310. Their flight into the west, Keith, 312. prevented this expedition, and the former rendezvous was altered. Keith, 310.

† Keith, 312. Knox, 380.

Book III. 1565. her choice of Lord Darnly, and the precipitation with which ſhe had concluded the marriage. She required Lennox and Darnly, whom ſhe ſtill called her ſubjects, to return into England. And at the ſame time, ſhe warmly interceded in behalf of Murray, whoſe behaviour ſhe repreſented to be not only innocent, but laudable. This meſſage, ſo mortifying to the pride of the Queen, and ſo full of contempt for her huſband, was rendered ſtill more inſupportable, by the petulant and ſaucy demeanour of Tamworth, the perſon who delivered it *. Mary vindicated her own conduct with warmth, but with great ſtrength of reaſon, and rejected the interceſſion in behalf of Murray, not without ſigns of reſentment at Elizabeth's pretending to intermeddle in the internal government of her kingdom †.

She did not, on that account, intermit in the leaſt the ardour, with which ſhe purſued Murray and his adherents ‡. They now appeared openly in arms; and having received a ſmall ſupply in money from Elizabeth ||, were endeavouring to raiſe their followers in the weſtern counties. But Mary's vigilance hindered them from aſſembling in any conſiderable body. All her military operations, at that time, were concerted with wiſdom, executed with vigour, and attended with ſucceſs. In order to encourage her troops, ſhe herſelf marched along with them, rode with loaded

* Camd. 398. † Keith, Append. 99.

‡ The moſt conſiderable perſons who joined Murray, were the Duke of Chatelherault, the Earls of Argyll, Glencairn, Rothes; Lord Boyd and Ochiltree; the Lairds of Grange, Cunninghamhead, Balcomie, Carmylie, Lawers, Bar, Dreghorn, Pitarrow, Comptroller, and the Tutor of Pitcur. Knox, 382.

|| Knox, 380.

piſtols *, and endured all the fatigues of war with admirable fortitude. Her alacrity inſpired her forces with an invincible reſolution, which, together with their ſuperiority in number, deterred the malecontents from facing them in the field; but having artfully paſſed the Queen's army, they marched with the utmoſt precipitation to Edinburgh, and endeavoured to rouze the inhabitants of that city to arms. The Queen did not ſuffer them to remain long unmoleſted; and, on her approach, they were forced to abandon that place, and retire in confuſion towards the weſtern borders †. BOOK III. 1565. Auguſt 31.

As it was uncertain, for ſome time, what rout they had taken, Mary employed that interval in providing for the ſecurity of the counties in the heart of the kingdom. She ſeized the places of ſtrength which belonged to the rebels; and obliged the conſiderable Barons in thoſe ſhires, which ſhe moſt ſuſpected, to join in aſſociations for her defence ‡. Having thus left all the country behind her in tranquillity, ſhe, with an army 18,000 ſtrong, marched towards Dumfries, where the rebels then were. During their retreat, they had ſent letters to the Queen, from almoſt every place where they halted, full of ſubmiſſion, and containing various overtures towards an accommodation. But Mary, who determined not to let ſlip ſuch a favourable opportunity of cruſhing the mutinous ſpirit of her ſubjects, rejected them with diſdain. As ſhe advanced, the malecontents retired: and, having received no effectual aid from Elizabeth ‖, they deſpaired of any other means of ſafety, fled into England, and put themſelves under the protection of the Earl of Bedford, Warden of the marches. They are obliged to retire into England. October 20.

NOTHING, which Bedford's perſonal friendſhip for Murray could ſupply, was wanting to render their retreat agreeable. But Eli- They meet with unexpected ill treatment from Elizabeth.

* Keith, Append. 164. † Id. 315. ‡ Id. Append. 113.
‖ See Appendix, N° XII. XIII.

Book III. 1565. zabeth herſelf treated them with extreme neglect. She had fully gained her end, and, by their means, had excited ſuch diſcord and jealouſies among the Scots, as would, in all probability, long diſtract and weaken Mary's councils. Her buſineſs now, was to ſave appearances, and to juſtify herſelf to the Miniſters of France and Spain, who accuſed her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland, by her intrigues. The expedient ſhe contrived for her vindication, ſtrongly diſplays her own character, and the wretched condition of exiles, who are obliged to depend on a foreign Prince. Murray, and Hamilton, Abbot of Kilwinning, being appointed by the other fugitives to wait on Elizabeth, inſtead of meeting with that welcome reception which was due to men, who, out of confidence in her promiſes, had hazarded their lives and fortunes, could not even obtain the favour of an audience, until they had meanly conſented to acknowledge, in the preſence of the French and Spaniſh Ambaſſadors, that Elizabeth had given them no encouragement to take arms. No ſooner did they make this declaration, than ſhe aſtoniſhed them with this reply, "You have declared the truth; I am far from ſetting an example of rebellion to my own ſubjects, by countenancing thoſe who rebel againſt their lawful Prince. The treaſon, of which you have been guilty, is deteſtable; and as traitors I baniſh you from my preſence *." Notwithſtanding this ſcene of farce and of falſhood, ſo diſhonourable to all the perſons who acted a part in it, Elizabeth permitted the malecontents peaceably to reſide in her dominions, ſupplied them ſecretly with money, and renewed her interceſſion with the Scottiſh Queen in their favour †.

* Melv. 112. † Knox, 389.

THE advantage ſhe had gained over them did not ſatisfy Mary; ſhe reſolved to follow the blow, and to prevent a party, which ſhe dreaded, from ever recovering any footing in the nation. With this view, ſhe called a meeting of Parliament; and in order that a ſentence of forfeiture might be legally pronounced againſt the baniſhed Lords, ſhe ſummoned them, by publick proclamation, to appear before it*. BOOK III. 1565. December 1.

THE Duke of Chatelherault, on his humble application, obtained a ſeparate pardon; but not without difficulty, as the King violently oppoſed it. He was obliged, however, to leave the kingdom, and to reſide for ſome time in France †.

THE numerous forces which Mary brought into the field, the vigour with which ſhe acted, and the length of time ſhe kept them in arms, reſemble the efforts of a Prince with revenues much more conſiderable than thoſe which ſhe poſſeſſed. But armies were then levied and maintained by a Prince, at ſmall charge. The vaſſal followed his ſuperior, and the ſuperior attended the Monarch, at his own expence. Six hundred horſemen, however, and three companies of foot, beſides her guards, received regular pay from the Queen. This extraordinary charge, together with the deburſements occaſioned by her marriage, exhauſted a treaſury, which was far from being rich. In this exigency, many devices were fallen upon for raiſing money. Fines were levied on the towns of St. Andrew's, Perth, and Dundee, which were ſuſpected of favouring the malecontents. An unuſual tax was impoſed on the burroughs throughout the kingdom; and a great ſum was demanded of the citizens of Edinburgh, by way of loan. This unprecedented exaction alarmed the citizens. They had recourſe

* Keith, 320. † Knox, 389.

to

Book III. 1565. to delays, and ſtarted difficulties, in order to avoid it. Theſe Mary conſtrued to be acts of avowed diſobedience, and inſtantly committed ſeveral of them to priſon. But this ſeverity did not ſubdue the undaunted ſpirit of liberty, which prevailed among the inhabitants. The Queen was obliged to mortgage to the city, the *ſuperiority* of the town of Leith, in return for which ſhe obtained a conſiderable ſum of money *. The thirds of eccleſiaſtical benefices proved another ſource, whence the Queen derived ſome ſupply. About this time, we find the Proteſtant clergy complaining more bitterly than ever of their poverty. The army, it is probable, exhauſted a great part of that fund, which was appropriated for their maintencane †.

Church affairs.

THE aſſemblies of the church were not unconcerned ſpectators of the commotions of this turbulent year. In the meeting June 24, ſeveral of the malecontent nobles were preſent, and ſeem to have had great influence on their deciſions. The high ſtrain in which the Aſſembly addreſſed the Queen, can be imputed only to thoſe fears and jealouſies, with regard to religion, which they endeavoured to infuſe into the nation. The aſſembly complained, with ſome bitterneſs, of the ſtop which had been put to the progreſs of the Reformation by the Queen's arrival in Scotland; they required not only the total ſuppreſſion of the Popiſh worſhip throughout the kingdom, but even in the Queen's own chapel; and beſides the legal eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion, they demanded that Mary herſelf ſhould publickly embrace it. The Queen, after ſome deliberation, replied, that neither her conſcience, nor her intereſt, would permit her to take ſuch a ſtep. The former would for ever reproach her for a change, which proceeded from

* Knox, 383, 386. † Maitl. Hiſt. of Edinburgh, 27.

no

no inward conviction; the latter would ſuffer by the offence, which her apoſtacy muſt give to the King of France, and her other allies on the continent *. BOOK III. 1565.

IT is remarkable, that the proſperous ſituation of the Queen's affairs, during this year, began to work ſome change in favour of her religion. The Earls of Lennox, Athol, and Caſſils, openly attended maſs; ſhe herſelf afforded the Catholics a more avowed protection than formerly; and, by her permiſſion, ſome of the antient Monks ventured to preach publicly to the people †.

* Knox, 374, 376. † Id. 389, 390.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK IV.

BOOK IV. 1566. Mary's deliberations concerning the exiled nobles.

AS the day appointed for the meeting of Parliament approached, Mary and her Miniſters were employed in deliberating concerning the courſe which it was moſt proper to hold with regard to the exiled nobles. Many motives prompted her to ſet no bounds to the rigour of juſtice. The malecontents had laboured to defeat a ſcheme, which her intereſt conſpired with her paſſions in rendering dear to her; they were the leaders of a party, whoſe friendſhip ſhe had been obliged to court, while ſhe held their principles in abhorrence; and they were firmly attached to a rival, whom ſhe had good reaſon both to fear and to hate.

BUT, on the other hand, ſeveral weighty conſiderations might be urged. The noblemen, whoſe fate was in ſuſpence, were among the moſt powerful ſubjects in the kingdom; their wealth great, their connections extenſive; and their adherents numerous. They were

now at mercy, the objects of compaſſion, and ſuing for pardon with the moſt humble ſubmiſſion. BOOK IV. 1566.

In thoſe circumſtances, an act of clemency would exalt the Queen's character, and appear no leſs ſplendid among foreigners, than acceptable to her own ſubjects. Mary herſelf, though highly incenſed, was not inexorable; but the King's rage was implacable and unrelenting. They were ſolicited in behalf of the fugitives, from various quarters. Morton, Ruthven, Maitland, and all who had been members of the Congregation, were not forgetful of their ancient union with Murray, and his fellow-ſufferers; nor neglectful of their ſafety, which they eſteemed of great importance to the kingdom. Melvil, who at that time poſſeſſed the Queen's confidence, ſeconded their ſolicitations. And Murray, having ſtooped ſo low as to court Rizio, that favourite, who was deſirous of ſecuring his protection againſt the King, whoſe diſpleaſure he had lately incurred, ſeconded the interceſſions of his other friends, with the whole of his influence *. The interpoſition of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who had lately been Elizabeth's Ambaſſador in Scotland, in behalf of the exiles, was of more weight than all theſe, and attended with more ſucceſs. Throgmorton, out of enmity to Cecil, had deeply embarked in all the intrigues which were carried on at the Engliſh court, in order to undermine the power and credit of that Miniſter. He eſpouſed, for this reaſon, the cauſe of the Scottiſh Queen, towards whoſe title and pretenſions the other was known to bear little favour; and ventured in the preſent critical juncture, to write a letter to Mary, containing the moſt ſalutary advices with regard to her conduct. He recommended the pardon-

* Melvil, 125.

Book IV. 1566.

ing of the Earl of Murray and his aſſociates, as a meaſure no leſs prudent than popular. An action of this nature, ſays he, the pure effect of your Majeſty's generoſity, will ſpread the fame of your lenity and moderation, and engage the Engliſh to look towards your acceſſion to their throne, not only without prejudice, but with deſire. By the ſame means, a perfect harmony will be reſtored among your own ſubjects, who, if any rupture ſhould happen with England, will ſerve you with that grateful zeal, which your clemency cannot fail of inſpiring *.

She reſolves to treat them with clemency.

THESE prudent remonſtrances of Throgmorton, to which his reputation for wiſdom, and known attachment to the Queen, added great authority, made a deep impreſſion on her ſpirit. Her courtiers cultivated this happy diſpoſition, and prevailed on her, notwithſtanding the King's inflexible temper, to ſacrifice her own private reſentment to the interceſſion of her ſubjects, and the wiſhes of her friends †. With this view, the Parliament, which had been called to meet on the 4th of February, was prorogued to the 7th of April ‡. And in the mean time, ſhe was buſy in conſidering the manner and form in which ſhe ſhould extend her favour to the Lords who were under diſgrace.

Is diverted from this reſolution by the ſolicitations of France, and her zeal for Popery.

February 3.

THOUGH Mary diſcovered, on this occaſion, a mind naturally prone to humanity, and capable of forgiving, ſhe wanted, however, firmneſs to reſiſt the influence, which was fatally employed to diſappoint the effects of this amiable diſpoſition. About this time, and at no great diſtance from each other, two envoys arrived from the French King. The former was intruſted with matters of mere

* Melv. 119. † Id. 125. ‡ Good. vol. i. 224.

ceremony

ceremony alone; he congratulated the Queen on her marriage, and inveſted the King with the enſigns of the order of St. Michael. The inſtructions of the latter related to matters of more importance, and produced greater effects *. Book IV. 1566.

An interview between Charles IX. and his Siſter the Queen of Spain had been often propoſed; and after many obſtacles ariſing from the oppoſition of political intereſt, was at laſt appointed at Bayonne. Cathrine of Medicis accompanied her ſon; the Duke of Alva attended his Miſtreſs. Amidſt the ſcenes of public pomp and pleaſure, which ſeemed to be the ſole occupation of both courts, a ſcheme was formed, and meaſures concerted, for exterminating the Hugonots in France, the Proteſtants in the low countries, and for ſuppreſſing the Reformation throughout all Europe †. The active policy of Pope Pius IV. and the zeal of the Cardinal of Lorrain, confirmed and encouraged diſpoſitions, ſo ſuitable to the genius of the Romiſh religion, and ſo beneficial to their own order.

It was on account of this holy league which the French envoy brought to Mary, conjuring her, at the ſame time, in the name of the King of France, and the Cardinal of Lorrain, not to reſtore the leaders of the Proteſtants in her kingdom to power and favour, at the very time when the Catholic Princes were combined to deſtroy that ſect, in all the countries of Europe ‡.

Popery is a ſpecies of falſe religion, remarkable for the ſtrong poſſeſſion it takes of the heart. Contrived by men of deep inſight into the human character, and improved by the experience and

* Keith, 325. Append. 167. † Thuan. lib. 37. ‡ Melv. 126.

Book IV. 1566. obſervation of many ſucceſſive ages; it arrived at laſt to a degree of perfection, which no former ſyſtem of ſuperſtition had ever attained. There is no power in the underſtanding, and no paſſion in the heart, to which it does not preſent objects, adapted to rouſe, and to intereſt them. Neither the love of pleaſure, which, at that time, prevailed in the court of France, nor the purſuits of ambition which occupied the court of Spain, had ſecured them from the dominion of bigotry. Laymen, and courtiers, were agitated with that furious and unmerciful zeal, which is commonly conſidered as peculiar to eccleſiaſtics; and Kings and Miniſters thought themſelves bound, in conſcience, to extirpate the Proteſtant doctrine. Mary herſelf was deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of Popery; a paſſionate attachment to that ſuperſtition is viſible in every part of her character, and runs through all the ſcenes of her life: ſhe was devoted, too, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion to the Princes of Lorrain, her uncles; and had been accuſtomed, from her infancy, to liſten to all their advices, with a filial reſpect. The proſpect of reſtoring the public exerciſe of her own religion, the pleaſure of complying with her uncles, and the hopes of gratifying the French Monarch, whom the preſent ſituation of her affairs in England made it neceſſary to court, counterbalanced all the prudent conſiderations which had formerly weighed with her. She inſtantly joined the confederacy, which had been formed for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants, and altered the whole plan of her conduct, with regard to Murray and his adherents.*

To this fatal reſolution may be imputed all the ſubſequent calamities of Mary's life. Ever ſince her return into Scotland, fortune may be ſaid to have been propitious to her, rather than adverſe; and if her proſperity did not riſe to any great height, it had, how-

* See Appendix, N° XIV.

ever, ſuffered no conſiderable interruption. A thick and ſettled cloud of adverſity, with few gleams of hope, and none of real enjoyment, covers the remainder of her days. BOOK IV. 1566.

THE effects of the new ſyſtem, which Mary had adopted, were ſoon viſible. The time of the prorogation of Parliament was ſhortened; and by a new proclamation, the 12th of March was fixed for its meeting *. Mary reſolved, without any further delay, to proceed to the attainder of the rebel Lords, and, at the ſame time, determined to take ſome ſteps towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion in Scotland †. The Lords of the Articles were choſen, as uſual, to prepare the buſineſs which was to come before the Parliament. They were all perſons in whom the Queen could confide, and bent to promote her deſigns. The ruin of Murray and his party ſeemed now inevitable, and the danger of the Reformed Church imminent, when an event unexpectedly happened, which

A Parliament called to attaint the exiled nobles.

* Keith, 326.

† It is not on the authority of Knox alone, that we charge the Queen with the deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion. He, indeed, aſſerts that the altars, which ſhould have been erected in the church of St. Giles, were already provided, 394. 1. Mary herſelf, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow her Ambaſſador in France, acknowledges, "that in that Parliament, ſhe intended to have done ſome good, with reſpect to reſtoring the old religion." Keith, 331. 2. The Spiritual Lords, i. e. the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, had, by her authority, reſumed their ancient place in that aſſembly, ibid. 3. She had joined the confederacy at Bayonne, Keith, Append. 167. 4. She allowed maſs to be celebrated in different parts of the kingdom, ibid. and declared that ſhe would have maſs free for all men who would hear it, Good. vol. i. 274. 5. Blackwood, who was furniſhed by the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow with materials for writing his *Martyre de Marie*, affirms that the Queen intended to have procured, in this Parliament, if not the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, at leaſt ſomething for the eaſe of Catholics, Jebb. vol. ii. 204.

ſaved

Book IV. 1566. obſervation of many ſucceſſive ages; it arrived at laſt to a degree of perfection, which no former ſyſtem of ſuperſtition had ever attained. There is no power in the underſtanding, and no paſſion in the heart, to which it does not preſent objects, adapted to rouſe, and to intereſt them. Neither the love of pleaſure, which, at that time, prevailed in the court of France, nor the purſuits of ambition which occupied the court of Spain, had ſecured them from the dominion of bigotry. Laymen, and courtiers, were agitated with that furious and unmerciful zeal, which is commonly conſidered as peculiar to eccleſiaſtics; and Kings and Miniſters thought themſelves bound, in conſcience, to extirpate the Proteſtant doctrine. Mary herſelf was deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of Popery; a paſſionate attachment to that ſuperſtition is viſible in every part of her character, and runs through all the ſcenes of her life: ſhe was devoted, too, with the utmoſt ſubmiſſion to the Princes of Lorrain, her uncles; and had been accuſtomed, from her infancy, to liſten to all their advices, with a filial reſpect. The proſpect of reſtoring the public exerciſe of her own religion, the pleaſure of complying with her uncles, and the hopes of gratifying the French Monarch, whom the preſent ſituation of her affairs in England made it neceſſary to court, counterbalanced all the prudent conſiderations which had formerly weighed with her. She inſtantly joined the confederacy, which had been formed for the deſtruction of the Proteſtants, and altered the whole plan of her conduct, with regard to Murray and his adherents.*

To this fatal reſolution may be imputed all the ſubſequent calamities of Mary's life. Ever ſince her return into Scotland, fortune may be ſaid to have been propitious to her, rather than adverſe; and if her proſperity did not riſe to any great height, it had, how-

* See Appendix, N° XIV.

ever, ſuffered no conſiderable interruption. A thick and ſettled cloud of adverſity, with few gleams of hope, and none of real enjoyment, covers the remainder of her days.

THE effects of the new ſyſtem, which Mary had adopted, were ſoon viſible. The time of the prorogation of Parliament was ſhortened; and by a new proclamation, the 12th of March was fixed for its meeting *. Mary reſolved, without any further delay, to proceed to the attainder of the rebel Lords, and, at the ſame time, determined to take ſome ſteps towards the re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion in Scotland †. The Lords of the Articles were choſen, as uſual, to prepare the buſineſs which was to come before the Parliament. They were all perſons in whom the Queen could confide, and bent to promote her deſigns. The ruin of Murray and his party ſeemed now inevitable, and the danger of the Reformed Church imminent, when an event unexpectedly happened, which

A Parliament called to attaint the exiled nobles.

* Keith, 326.

† It is not on the authority of Knox alone, that we charge the Queen with the deſign of re-eſtabliſhing the Roman Catholic religion. He, indeed, aſſerts that the altars, which ſhould have been erected in the church of St. Giles, were already provided, 394. 1. Mary herſelf, in a letter to the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow her Ambaſſador in France, acknowledges, "that in that Parliament, ſhe intended to have done ſome good, with reſpect to reſtoring the old religion." Keith, 331. 2. The Spiritual Lords, i. e. the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics, had, by her authority, reſumed their ancient place in that aſſembly, ibid. 3. She had joined the confederacy at Bayonne, Keith, Append. 167. 4. She allowed maſs to be celebrated in different parts of the kingdom, ibid. and declared that ſhe would have maſs free for all men who would hear it, Good. vol. i. 274. 5. Blackwood, who was furniſhed by the Archbiſhop of Glaſgow with materials for writing his *Martyre de Marie*, affirms that the Queen intended to have procured, in this Parliament, if not the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion, at leaſt ſomething for the eaſe of Catholics, Jebb. vol. ii. 204.

ſaved

Book IV. 1566.

saved both. If we regard either the barbarity of that age, when such acts of violence were common, or the mean condition of the unhappy person who suffered, the event is little remarkable; but if we reflect upon the circumstances with which it was attended, or upon the consequences which followed it, it appears extremely memorable; and the rise and progress of it deserve to be traced with great care.

And prevented by the conspiracy against Rizio.

Darnly loses the Queen's affection.

DARNLY's external accomplishments had excited that sudden and violent passion which raised him to the throne. But the qualities of his mind corresponded ill with the beauty of his person. Of a weak understanding, and without experience, conceited at the same time of his own abilities, and ascribing his extraordinary success entirely to his distinguished merit. All the Queen's favour made no impression on such a temper. All her gentleness could not bridle his imperious and ungovernable spirit. All her attention to place about him persons capable of directing his conduct, could not preserve him from rash and imprudent actions *. Fond of all the amusements, and even prone to all the vices of youth, he became, by degrees, careless of her person, and a stranger to her company. To a woman, and a Queen, such behaviour was intolerable. The lower she had stooped to raise him, his behaviour appeared the more ungenerous and criminal. And in proportion to the strength of her first affection, was the violence with which her disappointed passion now operated. A few months after the marriage, their domestic quarrels began to be observed. The extravagance of Darnly's ambition gave rise to these. Instead of being satisfied with that stretch of power, by which Mary had conferred on him the title of King, and had admitted him to a share in the administration, he

* Good. vol. i. 122.

demanded the Crown Matrimonial with moſt inſolent importunity*. And though Mary alledged that this gift was beyond her power, and that the authority of Parliament muſt be interpoſed to beſtow it, he wanted either underſtanding to comprehend, or temper to admit ſo juſt a defence; and often renewed and urged his requeſt. BOOK IV. 1566.

RIZIO, whom the King had at firſt taken into great confidence, did not humour him in theſe follies. By this, he incurred Henry's diſpleaſure; and it was impoſſible for Mary to behave towards her huſband with the ſame affection, which diſtinguiſhed the firſt and happy days of their union, he imputed this coldneſs, not to his own behaviour, which had ſo well merited it, but to the inſinuations of Rizio. Mary's own conduct confirmed and ſtrengthened theſe ſuſpicions. She treated this ſtranger with a familiarity, and admitted him to a ſhare in her confidence, to which neither his firſt condition, nor the office ſhe had lately beſtowed upon him, gave him any title. He was perpetually in her preſence, intermeddled in every buſineſs, and, together with a few favourites, was the companion of all her private amuſements. The haughty ſpirit of Darnly could not bear the interference of ſuch an upſtart. And impatient of any delay, and unreſtrained by any ſcruple, he inſtantly reſolved to get rid of him by violence. Suſpects Rizio to be the cauſe of it.

AT the ſame time, another deſign, which took its riſe from very different motives, was carrying on againſt the life of Rizio. Morton, Ruthven, Lindſay, and Maitland, were the contrivers of it. In all former commotions they had been ſtrictly united with Murray, Rizio hated by the friends of the exiled nobles.

* Keith, 329. Knox, 404.

Book IV. 1566.

ray, though in the late inſurrection they had deſerted him, for various reaſons. Morton was nearly allied to the family of Angus, and during the minority of the preſent Earl, acted as Chief of the name of Douglas. Ruthven was married to the King's aunt. Lindſay's wife was of the ſame blood. All theſe had warmly concurred with the Queen in promoting a marriage, which did ſo much honour to the houſe of Douglas, and naturally expected, that under a King of their own blood, the chief management of affairs would be committed to them. Maitland, with his uſual ſagacity, foreſaw that Murray's oppoſition to the match would prove dangerous and ineffectual; but whoever ruled at court, he hoped, by his dexterity and talents, to render himſelf neceſſary and of importance. They were all equally diſappointed in their expectations. The King's headſtrong temper rendered him incapable of advice. The Queen could not help diſtruſting men who had been ſo long and ſo intimately connected with Murray, and gave herſelf up entirely to thoſe Counſellors who complied with all her inclinations. The return of that nobleman and his followers was therefore the only event which could reſtore Morton, Maitland, and their aſſociates to their former aſcendant over the Queen's councils. For this reaſon, nothing could be more mortifying to them, than the reſolution which Mary had taken to treat the exiles with rigour. This they imputed to Rizio, who, after he had engaged to aid Murray with all his intereſt, was now the moſt active inſtrument in promoting the meaſures which were concerted for the ruin of that nobleman. This officious zeal compleated the diſguſt which they had conceived againſt him, and inſpired them with thoughts of vengeance, in no wiſe ſuitable to juſtice, to humanity, or to their own dignity.

1566.

They combine in order to murder him.

WHILE they were ruminating upon their ſcheme, the King communicated his reſolution to be avenged of Rizio to Lord Ruthven, and implored his aſſiſtance, and that of his friends, towards the execution of this deſign. Nothing could be more acceptable to them than this overture. They ſaw at once all the advantages they would reap, by the concurrence of ſuch an aſſociate. Their own private revenge upon Rizio would paſs, they hoped, for an act of obedience to the King; and they did not deſpair of obtaining the reſtoration of their baniſhed friends, and ſecurity for the Proteſtant religion, as the price of their compliance with his will.

BUT as Henry was no leſs fickle, than raſh, they heſitated for ſome time, and determined to advance no farther, without taking every poſſible precaution for their own ſafety. They did not, in the mean time, ſuffer the King's reſentment to abate. Morton, who was inferior to no man in that intriguing age, in all the arts of inſinuation and addreſs, took the young Prince under his management. He wrought upon his ruling paſſion, ambition to obtain the Matrimonial Crown. He repreſented Rizio's credit with the Queen to be the chief and only obſtacle to his ſucceſs in that demand. This minion, alone, he ſaid, poſſeſſed her confidence; and out of complaiſance to him, her ſubjects, her nobility, and even her huſband, were excluded from any participation of her ſecret councils. Under the appearance of a confidence merely political, he inſinuated, and the King perhaps believed, that a familiarity of another and more criminal nature might be concealed*. Such various and compli-

* Of all our hiſtorians, Buchanan alone avowedly accuſes Mary of a criminal love for Rizio, 340, 344. Knox ſlightly inſinuates that ſuch a ſuſpicion was entertained, 391. Melvil, in a converſation with the Queen, intimates that he was afraid her familiarity with Rizio might be liable to miſconſtruction, 110.

Book IV. 1566. complicated paſſions raged in the King's boſom, with the utmoſt fury. He became more impatient than ever of any delay, and even threatened to ſtrike the intended blow with his own hand. At laſt, preliminaries were ſettled on both ſides, and articles for their mutual ſecurity agreed upon. The King engaged to prevent the attainder of the baniſhed Lords, to conſent to their return into Scotland, to obtain for them an ample remiſſion of all their crimes, and to ſupport to the utmoſt of his power, the religion which was now eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. On their parts, they undertook to procure the Matrimonial Crown for Henry, to ſecure his right of ſucceſſion, if the Queen ſhould die before him, and to defend that right to the uttermoſt, againſt whatever perſon ſhould preſume to diſpute it; and if either Rizio, or any other perſon, ſhould happen to be killed in proſecuting of the deſign, the King promiſed to acknowledge himſelf to be the author of the enterprize, and to protect thoſe who were embarked in it *.

NOTHING

The King himſelf ſeems, both by Melvil's account, and by his expoſtulation with the Queen, which Ruthven mentions, to have given credit to theſe ſuſpicions, Melv. 127. Keith, Append. 123, 124. But, in oppoſition to theſe ſuſpicions, and they are nothing more, we may obſerve that Raulet the Queen's French Secretary was diſmiſſed from her ſervice, and Rizio advanced to that office in December 1564. Keith 268. It was in conſequence of this preferment, that he acquired his great credit with the Queen, Melv. 107. Darnly arrived in Scotland about two months after, Keith, 269. The Queen immediately conceived for him a paſſion, which had all the ſymptoms of genuine and violent love. Rizio aided this paſſion, and promoted the marriage with all his intereſt, Melv. 111. During ſome months after the marriage, the Queen's fondneſs for Darnly continued. She ſoon proved with child. From this enumeration of circumſtances, it appears almoſt impoſſible that the Queen, unleſs we ſuppoſe her to have been a woman utterly abandoned, could

* Good. vol. i. 266.

carry

1566.

NOTHING now remained but to concert the plan of operation, to chuſe the actors, and to aſſign them their parts in perpetrating this deteſtable crime. Every circumſtance here paints and characterizes the manners and men of that age, and fills us with horror at both. The place, choſen for committing ſuch a deed, was the Queen's bedchamber. Though Mary was now in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, and though Rizio might have been ſeized elſewhere, without any difficulty, the King pitched upon this place, that he might enjoy the malicious pleaſure of reproaching Rizio with his crimes before the Queen's face. The Earl of Morton, the Lord High Chancellor of the kingdom, undertook to direct an enterprize, carried on in defiance of all the laws of which he was bound to be the guardian. The Lord Ruthven, who had been confined to his bed for three months, by a very dangerous diſtemper, and who was ſtill ſo feeble that he could ſcarce walk, or bear the weight of his own armour, was entruſted with the executive part; and while he himſelf needed to be ſupported by two men, he came abroad to commit a murder in the preſence of his Sovereign.

Perpetrate that crime in the Queen's palace.

ON the 9th of March, Morton entered the court of the palace with an hundred and ſixty men; and without noiſe, or meeting with any reſiſtance, ſeized all the gates. While the Queen was at ſupper with the Counteſs of Argyll, Rizio, and a few domeſtics, the King ſuddenly entered the apartment, by a private paſſage. At his back, was Ruthven, clad in complete armour, and with that ghaſtly and

carry on any criminal intrigue with Rizio. But the ſilence of Randolph the Engliſh Reſident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once inſinuate that her confidence in Rizio concealed any thing criminal, is in itſelf a ſufficient vindication of her innocence.

Book IV. 1566.

horrid look which long ſickneſs had given him. Three or four of his moſt truſty accomplices followed him. Such an unuſual appearance alarmed thoſe who were preſent. Rizio inſtantly apprehended that he was the victim at whom the blow was aimed; and in the utmoſt conſternation retired behind the Queen, of whom he laid hold, hoping that the reverence due to her perſon might prove ſome protection to him. The conſpirators had proceeded too far to be reſtrained by any conſideration of that kind. Numbers of armed men ruſhed into the chamber. Ruthven drew his dagger, and with a furious mien and voice, commanded Rizio to leave a place of which he was unworthy, and which he had occupied too long. Mary employed tears, and entreaties, and threatenings, to ſave her favourite. But, notwithſtanding all theſe, he was torn from her by violence, and before he could be dragged through the next apartment, the rage of his enemies put an end to his life, piercing his body with fifty ſix wounds *.

Athol, Huntly, Bothwell, and other confidents of the Queen who lodged in the palace, were alarmed at the uproar, and filled with the utmoſt terror on their own account; but either no violence was intended againſt them, or the conſpirators durſt not ſhed the nobleſt blood in the kingdom, in the ſame illegal manner with which they had ventured to take the life of a ſtranger. Some of them were diſmiſſed, and others made their eſcape.

They confine the Queen herſelf.

The conſpirators, in the mean time, kept poſſeſſion of the palace, and guarded the Queen with the utmoſt care. A proclamation was publiſhed by the King, prohibiting the Parliament to meet on the day appointed; and meaſures were taken by him for pre-

* See Appendix, N° XV.

vent-

venting any tumult in the city *. Murray, Rothes, and their followers being informed of every ſtep taken againſt Rizio, arrived at Edinburgh next evening. Murray was graciouſly received both by the King and Queen. By the former, on account of the Articles which had been agreed upon between them; by the latter, becauſe ſhe hoped to prevail on him, by gentle treatment, not to take part with the murderers of Rizio. Their power ſhe ſtill felt, and dreaded; and the inſult which they had offered to her authority, and even to her perſon, ſo far exceeded any crime ſhe could impute to Murray, that in hopes of wreaking her vengeance on them, ſhe became extremely willing to be reconciled to him. The obligations, however, which Murray lay under to men, who had hazarded their lives on his account, engaged him to labour for their ſafety. The Queen, who ſcarce had the liberty of choice left, was perſuaded to admit Morton and Ruthven into her preſence, and to grant them the promiſe of pardon in whatever terms they ſhould deem neceſſary for their own ſecurity. BOOK IV. 1566.

THE King, mean while, ſtood aſtoniſhed at the boldneſs and ſucceſs of his own enterprize, and uncertain what courſe to hold. The Queen obſerved his irreſolution, and availed herſelf of it. She employed all her art to diſengage him from his new aſſociates. His conſciouſneſs of the inſult which he had offered to ſo illuſtrious a benefactreſs, inſpired him with uncommon facility and complaiſance. In ſpite of all the warnings he received to diſtruſt the Queen's artifices, ſhe prevailed on him to diſmiſs the guards which the conſpi- But ſhe gains the King, and makes her eſcape.

* Keith, Append. 126.

rators

Book IV. rators had placed on her perſon. And that ſame night he made his eſcape along with her, attended by three perſons only, and retired to Dunbar. The ſcheme of their flight had been communicated to Huntly and Bothwell, and they were quickly joined by them, and ſeveral other of the nobles. Bothwell's eſtate lay in that corner of the kingdom, and his followers crouded to their Chief, in ſuch numbers, as ſoon enabled the Queen to ſet the power of the conſpirators at defiance.

1566. March 11.

Is reconciled to the exiled nobles.

THIS ſudden flight filled them with inexpreſſible conſternation. They had obtained a promiſe of pardon; and it now appeared from the Queen's conduct, that nothing more was intended by this promiſe, than to amuſe them, and to gain time. They ventured, however, to demand the accompliſhment of it; but their meſſenger was detained a priſoner, and the Queen advancing towards Edinburgh, at the head of 8000 men, talked in the higheſt ſtrain of reſentment and revenge. She had the addreſs, at the ſame time, to ſeparate Murray and his aſſociates from the conſpirators againſt Rizio. Senſible that the union of theſe parties would form a confederacy, which might prove formidable to the crown, ſhe expreſſed great willingneſs to receive the former into favour; towards the latter, ſhe declared herſelf inexorable. Murray and his followers were no leſs willing to accept of pardon, on her own terms. The conſpirators againſt Rizio, deprived of every reſource, and incapable of reſiſtance, fled precipitately to Newcaſtle, having thus changed ſituations with Murray and his party, who left that place a few days before.

March 19. The conſpirators againſt Rizio fly into England.

No man ſo remarkable for wiſdom, and even for cunning, as the Earl of Morton, ever engaged in a more unfortunate enterprize. De-

ſerted baſely by the King, who now denied his knowledge of the conſpiracy, by public proclamations; and abandoned ungenerouſly by Murray and his party *, he was obliged to fly from his native country, to reſign the higheſt office, and to part with one of the moſt opulent fortunes in the kingdom.

On her return to Edinburgh, Mary began to proceed againſt thoſe concerned in the murder of Rizio, with the utmoſt rigour of law. But, in praiſe of her clemency, it muſt he obſerved, that only two perſons, and theſe of no conſiderable rank, ſuffered for this crime †.

In this conſpiracy there is one circumſtance, which, though ſomewhat detached, deſerves not to be forgotten. In the confederacy between the King and the conſpirators, the real intention of which was aſſaſſination, the preſerving of the Reformed Church is, nevertheleſs, one of the moſt conſiderable articles; and the ſame men who were preparing to violate one of the firſt duties of morality, affected the higheſt regard for religion. Hiſtory relates theſe extravagancies of the human mind, without pretending to juſtify, or even to account for them; and regulating her own opinions by the eternal and immutable laws of juſtice and of virtue, points out ſuch inconſiſtencies, as features of the age which ſhe deſcribes, and records them for the inſtruction of ages to come.

An account of the frequency of aſſaſſinations in that age.

As this is the ſecond inſtance of deliberate aſſaſſination which has occurred, and as we ſhall hereafter meet with many other inſtances of the ſame crime, the cauſes which gave riſe to a practice ſo ſhocking to humanity, deſerve our particular attention. Reſentment is, for obvious and wiſe reaſons, one of the ſtrongeſt paſſions in the human mind. The natural demand of this paſſion is, that

* Melv. 130. † Keith, Appendix 130, 334.

the

Book IV. 1566. the perſon who feels the injury ſhould himſelf inflict the vengeance due on that account. The permitting this, however, would have been deſtructive to ſociety; and puniſhment would have known no bounds, either in ſeverity, or in duration. For this reaſon, in the very infancy of the ſocial ſtate, the ſword was taken out of private hands, and committed to the Magiſtrate. But, at firſt, while laws aimed at reſtraining, they really ſtrengthened the principle of revenge. The earlieſt and moſt ſimple puniſhment for crimes was retaliation; the offender forfeited limb for limb, and life for life. The payment of a compenſation to the perſon injured, ſucceeded to the rigour of the former inſtitution. In both theſe, the gratification of private revenge was the object of law; and he who ſuffered the wrong, was the only perſon who had a right to purſue, to exact, or to remit the puniſhment. While laws allowed ſuch full ſcope to the revenge of one party, the intereſts of the other were not neglected. If the evidence of his guilt did not amount to a full proof, or if he reckoned himſelf to be unjuſtly accuſed, the perſon to whom a crime was imputed had a right to challenge his adverſary to ſingle combat, and on obtaining the victory, vindicated his own honour. In almoſt every conſiderable cauſe, whether civil or criminal, arms were appealed to, in defence, either of the innocence, or the property of the parties. Juſtice had ſeldom occaſion to uſe her balance; the ſword alone decided every conteſt. The paſſion of revenge was nouriſhed by all theſe means, and grew, by daily indulgence, to be incredibly ſtrong. Mankind became habituated to blood, not only in times of war, but of peace; and from this, as well as other cauſes, contracted an amazing ferocity of temper, and of manners. This ferocity, however, made it neceſſary to diſcourage the trial by combat; to aboliſh the payment of compenſations in criminal caſes; and to think of ſome milder method of terminating diſputes concerning civil rights. The puniſhments for

crimes became more ſevere, and the regulations concerning property more fixed; but the Princes, whoſe province it was to inflict the one, and to enforce the other, poſſeſſed little power. Great offenders deſpiſed their authority; ſmaller ones ſheltered themſelves under the juriſdiction of thoſe, from whoſe protection they expected impunity. The adminiſtration of juſtice was extremely feeble and dilatory. An attempt to puniſh the crimes of a Chieftain, or even of his vaſſals, often excited rebellions and civil wars. To nobles, haughty and independent, among whom the cauſes of diſcord were many and unavoidable, who were quick in diſcerning an injury, and impatient to revenge it; who eſteemed it infamous to ſubmit to an enemy, and cowardly to forgive him; who conſidered the right of puniſhing thoſe who had injured them, as a privilege of their order, and a mark of independence; ſuch ſlow proceedings were extremely unſatisfactory. The blood of their adverſary was, in their opinion, the only thing which could waſh away an affront; where that was not ſhed, their revenge was diſappointed, their courage became ſuſpected, and a ſtain was left on their honour. That vengeance, which the impotent hand of the Magiſtrate could not inflict, their own could eaſily execute; under governments ſo feeble, men aſſumed, as in a ſtate of nature, the right of judging, and redreſſing their own wrongs. And thus aſſaſſination, a crime of all others the moſt deſtructive to ſociety, came not only to be allowed, but to be deemed honourable.

Book IV. 1566.

The hiſtory of Europe, during the 14th and 15th centuries abounds with deteſtable inſtances of this crime. It prevailed chiefly among the French and Scots, between whom there was a cloſe intercourſe at that time, and a ſurpriſing reſemblance in their national characters. In 1407, the only brother of the King of France

Book IV. 1566.

was murdered publickly in the ſtreets of Paris, and inſtead of puniſhing this horrible action, an eminent lawyer was allowed to plead in defence of it before the Peers of France, and avowedly to maintain the lawfulneſs of aſſaſſination. In 1417, it required all the eloquence and authority of the famous Gerſon, to prevail on the Council of Conſtance to condemn this propoſition, "That there are ſome caſes in which aſſaſſination is a virtue more meritorious in a Knight than in a Squire, and more meritorious in a King than in a Knight*." The number of eminent perſons who were murdered in France and Scotland, on account either of private, or political, or religious quarrels, during the 15th and 16th centuries, is almoſt incredible. Even after thoſe cauſes, which firſt gave riſe to this barbarous practice were removed; after the juriſdiction of Magiſtrates, and the authority of laws were better eſtabliſhed, and become more univerſal; after the progreſs of learning and philoſophy had poliſhed the manners, and humanized the minds of men, this crime continued in ſome degree. It was towards the cloſe of the 17th century before it diſappeared in France. The additional vigour, which the royal authority acquired by the acceſſion of James VI. to the throne of England, ſeems to have put a ſtop to it in Scotland.

The influence, however, of any national cuſtom, both on the underſtanding and on the heart, and how far it may go towards perverting or extinguiſhing moral principles of the greateſt importance, is remarkable. The authors of thoſe ages have perfectly imbibed the ſentiments of their cotemporaries, with regard to aſſaſſination; and they, who had leiſure to reflect, and to judge, appear to be no more ſhocked at this crime, than the perſons, who committed it during the heat and impetuoſity of paſſion. Buchanan

* L'Enfant. Hiſt. Conc. de Conſt.

relates

relates the murder of Cardinal Beatoun, and of Rizio, without expreſſing thoſe feelings which are natural to a man, or that indignation which became an hiſtorian *. Knox, whoſe mind was fiercer and more unpoliſhed, talks of the death of Beatoun and of the Duke of Guiſe, not only without cenſure, but with the utmoſt exultation †. On the other hand, the Biſhop of Roſs mentions the aſſaſſination of the Earl of Murray, with ſome degrees of applauſe‡. Blackwood dwells upon it, with the moſt indecent triumph, and aſcribes it directly to the hand of God ||. Lord Ruthven, the principal actor in the conſpiracy againſt Rizio, wrote an account of it ſome ſhort time before his own death, and in all his long narrative there is not one expreſſion of regret, or one ſymptom of compunction for a crime no leſs diſhonourable, than barbarous **. Morton, equally guilty of the ſame crime, entertained the ſame ſentiments concerning it; and in his laſt moments, neither he himſelf, nor the Miniſters who attended him, ſeem to have conſidered it as an action which called for repentance; even then he talks of *David's ſlaughter* as coolly, as if it had been an innocent or commendable deed ††. The vices of another age aſtoniſh and ſhock us; the vices of our own become familiar, and excite little horror. We return from this digreſſion to the courſe of the hiſtory.

The charm, which had at firſt attached the Queen to Darnly, and held them for ſome time in an happy union, was now entirely diſſolved; and love no longer covering his follies and vices with its friendly veil, they appeared to Mary in their full dimenſion and deformity ‡‡. Tho' Henry publiſhed a proclamation, diſclaiming any knowledge of the conſpiracy againſt Rizio, the Queen was fully

The Queen's hatred to Darnly increaſes.

* Buchan. 295, 345. † Knox, 334. ‡ Anderſ. 3. 84.
|| Jebb. 2. 263. ** Keith, Append. 119. †† Crawf. Mem. Append.
‡‡ See Appendix, N° XVI.

Book IV. 1566. convinced, that he was not only acceſſory to the contrivance, but to the commiſſion of that odious crime *. That very power, which, with liberal and unſuſpicious fondneſs, ſhe had conferred upon him, he had employed to inſult her authority, to limit her prerogative, and to endanger her perſon. Such an outrage, it was impoſſible any woman could bear, or forgive. Cold civilities, ſecret diſtruſt, frequent quarrels, ſucceeded to their former tranſports of affection and confidence. The Queen's favours were no longer conveyed through his hands. The croud of expectants ceaſed to court his patronage, which they found to avail ſo little. Among the nobles, ſome dreaded his furious temper, others complained of his perfidiouſneſs; and all of them deſpiſed the weakneſs of his underſtanding, and the inconſtancy of his heart. The people themſelves obſerved ſome parts of his conduct, which little ſuited the dignity of a King. Addicted to drunkenneſs, beyond what the manners of that age could bear, and indulging irregular paſſions, which even the licentiouſneſs of youth could not excuſe, he, by his indecent behaviour, provoked the Queen to the utmoſt; and the paſſions which it occaſioned, often forced tears from her eyes, both in public and in private †. Her averſion for him increaſed every day, and could be no longer concealed. He was often abſent from court, appeared there with little ſplendor, and was truſted with no power. Avoided equally by thoſe who endeavoured to pleaſe the Queen, who favoured Morton and his aſſociates, or who adhered to the houſe of Hamilton; he was left almoſt alone in a neglected and unpitied ſolitude ‡.

The riſe of Bothwell's favour.

About this time a new favourite grew into great credit with the Queen, and ſoon gained an aſcendant over her heart, which encou-

* Keith, 350. † Ibid. 329. ‡ Melv. 131, &c.

raged

raged his enterprising genius to form designs that proved fatal to himself, and the occasion of all Mary's subsequent misfortunes. This was James Hepburn Earl of Bothwell, the head of an ancient family, and by his extensive possessions and numerous vassals, one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom. Even in that turbulent age, when so many vast projects were laid open to an aspiring mind, and invited it to action, no man's ambition was more daring than Bothwell's, or had recourse to bolder or more singular expedients for obtaining power. When almost every person of distinction in the kingdom, whether Papist or Protestant, had joined the Congregation in opposing the dangerous encroachments of the French upon the liberties of the nation, he, though an avowed Protestant, adhered to the Queen Regent, and acted with vigour on her side. The success which attended the arms of the Congregation having obliged him to retire into France, he was taken into the Queen's service, and continued with her till the time of her return into Scotland *. From that period, every step of his conduct towards Mary was remarkably dutiful; and amidst all the shiftings of faction, we scarcely ever find him holding any course which could be offensive to her. When Murray's proceedings with regard to her marriage gave umbrage to the Queen, she recalled Bothwell from that banishment into which she had with reluctance driven him, and considered his zeal and abilities as the most powerful supports of her authority. When the conspirators against Rizio seized her person, he became the chief instrument of recovering her liberty, and served her, on that occasion, with so much fidelity and success, as made the deepest impression on her mind, and greatly increased the confidence which she had hitherto placed in

* Anders. 1. 90.

Book IV. 1566.

him *. Her gratitude loaded him with marks of her bounty; ſhe raiſed him to offices of profit and of truſt, and tranſacted no matter of importance without his advice †. By complaiſance, and aſſiduity, he confirmed and fortified theſe diſpoſitions of the Queen in his favour, and inſenſibly paved the way towards that vaſt project, which his immoderate ambition had perhaps already conceived, and which, in ſpite of many difficulties, and at the expence of many crimes, he at laſt accompliſhed.

THE hour of the Queen's delivery now approached. As her palace was defended only by a ſlender guard, it ſeemed imprudent to expoſe her perſon, at that time, to the inſults ſhe might ſuffer in a kingdom torn by factions, and prone to mutiny. For this reaſon, the Privy Council adviſed the Queen to fix her reſidence in the caſtle of Edinburgh, the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the kingdom, and the moſt proper place for the ſecurity of her perſon ‡. In order to render this ſecurity more perfect, Mary laboured to extinguiſh the domeſtic feuds which divided ſome of the principal nobles. Murray and Argyll were exaſperated againſt Huntly and Bothwell, by reciprocal and repeated injuries. The Queen, by her authority and entreaties, effected a reconcilement among them, and drew from them a promiſe to bury their diſcords in everlaſting oblivion. This reconcilement Mary had ſo much at heart, that ſhe made it the condition on which ſhe again received Murray into favour ||.

Birth of James VI.

ON the 19th of June, Mary was delivered of her only ſon James, a Prince whoſe birth was happy for the whole Iſland, and unfortunate to her alone. His acceſſion to the throne of England united the two

* Anderſ. 1. 92, 93. † Melv. 133. Knox, 396.
‡ Keith, 335. || Ibid. 336. Append. 139.

divided kingdoms in one mighty monarchy, and eſtabliſhed the power of Great Britain on a firm foundation. While ſhe, torn early from her ſon by the cruelty of her fate, was never allowed to indulge thoſe tender paſſions, nor to taſte thoſe joys which fill the heart of a mother. BOOK IV. 1566.

MELVIL was inſtantly diſpatched to London with an account of this event. It ſtruck Elizabeth, at firſt, in a ſenſible manner; and the advantage and ſuperiority which her rival had acquired by the birth of a ſon, forced tears from her eyes. But before Melvil was admitted to audience, ſhe had ſo far recovered the command of herſelf, as to receive him not only with decency, but with exceſſive cheerfulneſs; and willingly accepted the invitation which Mary gave her, to ſtand godmother to her ſon *.

As Mary loved ſplendor and magnificence, ſhe reſolved to celebrate the baptiſm of the young Prince with great pomp; and for that purpoſe ſent invitations of the ſame kind to the French King, and to the Duke of Savoy, the uncle of her former huſband.

THE Queen, on her recovery, diſcovered no change in her ſentiments with reſpect to the King †. The death of Rizio, and the countenance he had given to an action ſo inſolent and unjuſtifiable, were ſtill freſh in her memory. She was frequently penſive and dejected ‡. And though Henry ſometimes attended at court, and accompanied her in her progreſſes through different parts of the kingdom, he met with little reverence from the nobles, while Mary treated him with the utmoſt reſerve, and did not ſuffer him to poſſeſs any authority ||. The breach between them became

The Queen continues to treat Darnly with indifference and neglect.

* Melv. 138. † See Append. N° XVII. ‡ Ibid. 148. || Keith, 350. Melv. 132.

every

Book IV. 1566. every day more apparent*. Attempts were made toward a reconcilement, particularly by Caſtelnau the French Ambaſſador; but after ſuch a violent rupture, it was found no eaſy matter to bind the nuptial knot a-new; and though he prevailed on the King and Queen to paſs two nights together†, we may, with great probability, pronounce this appearance of union, to which Caſtelnau truſted, not to have been ſincere; we know with certainty that it was not laſting.

Her attachment to Bothwell increaſes.

BOTHWELL, all this while, was the Queen's prime confident. Without his participation no buſineſs was concluded, and no favour beſtowed. Together with this aſcendant over her councils, Bothwell, if we may believe the cotemporary hiſtorians, acquired no leſs ſway over her heart. But at what preciſe time, this ambitious Lord firſt allowed the ſentiments of a lover to occupy the place of that duty and reſpect which a ſubject owes his Sovereign; or when Mary, inſtead of gratitude for his faithful ſervices, felt a paſſion of another nature riſing in her boſom, it is no eaſy matter to determine. Such delicate tranſitions of paſſion can be diſcerned only by thoſe, who are admitted near the perſons of the parties, and who can view the ſecret workings of the heart with calm and acute obſervation. Neither Kox nor Buchanan enjoyed theſe advantages. Their humble ſtation allowed them only a diſtant acceſs to the Queen and her favourite. And the ardor of their zeal, and the violence of their prejudices, render their opinions raſh, precipitate, and inaccurate. It is by the effects of this reciprocal paſſion, rather than by their accounts of it, that ſubſequent hiſtorians can judge of its reality.

ADVENTUROUS as Bothwell's project to gain the Queen may appear, it was formed and carried on under very favourable circum-

* Keith, Append. 169. † Ibid.

ſtances.

ſtances. Mary was young, gay, and affable. She poſſeſſed great ſenſibility of temper, and was capable of the utmoſt tenderneſs of affection. She had placed her love on a very unworthy object, who requited it with ingratitude, and treated her with neglect, with inſolence, and with brutality. All theſe ſhe felt, and reſented. In this ſituation, the attention and complaiſance of a man, who had vindicated her authority, and protected her perſon; who entered into all her views, who ſoothed all her paſſions, who watched and improved every opportunity of inſinuating his deſign, and recommending his paſſion *, could ſcarce fail of making an impreſſion on a heart of ſuch a frame as Mary's.

The haughty ſpirit of Darnly, nurſed up in flattery, and accuſtomed to command, could not bear the contempt under which he had now fallen, and the ſtate of inſignificance to which he ſaw himſelf reduced. But in a country, where he was univerſally hated or deſpiſed, he could never hope to form a party, which would ſecond any attempt he might make to recover power. He addreſſed himſelf, therefore, to the Pope, and to the Kings of France and Spain, with many profeſſions of his own zeal for the Catholic religion, and with bitter complaints againſt the Queen, for neglecting to promote that intereſt †: And ſoon after, he took a reſolution, equally wild and deſperate, of embarking on board a ſhip, which he had provided, and of flying into foreign parts. It is almoſt impoſſible to form any ſatisfactory conjecture concerning the motives which influence a capricious and irregular mind. He hoped, perhaps, to recommend himſelf to the Catholic Princes on the continent, by his zeal for religion, and that they would employ their intereſt towards reinſtating him in the poſſeſſion of that power which he had loſt. Perhaps, he expected nothing more than

The King reſolves to leave Scotland.

* Anderſ. 1. 93, 94. † Knox, 399.

Book IV. 1566.

the comfort of hiding the diſgrace under which he was now fallen, among ſtrangers, who had never been witneſſes of his former proſperity.

His capricious behaviour.

He communicated his deſign to the French Ambaſſador Le Croc, and to his father the Earl of Lennox. They both endeavoured to diſſwade him from it, but without ſucceſs. Lennox, who ſeems, as well as his ſon, to have loſt the Queen's confidence, and who, about this time, was ſeldom at court, inſtantly communicated the matter to her by a letter. Henry, who had refuſed to accompany the Queen from Stirling to Edinburgh, was likewiſe abſent from court. He arrived there, however, on the ſame day ſhe received the account of his intended flight. But he was more than uſually wayward and peeviſh; and ſcrupling to enter the palace, unleſs certain Lords who attended the Queen were diſmiſſed; Mary was obliged to meet him without the gates. At laſt he ſuffered her to conduct him into her own apartment. She endeavoured to draw from him the reaſons of the ſtrange reſolution which he had taken, and to divert him from it. In ſpite however of all her arguments and entreaties, he remained ſilent and inflexible. Next day the Privy Council, by her direction, expoſtulated with him on the ſame head. He perſiſted, notwithſtanding, in his ſullenneſs and obſtinacy; and neither deigned to explain the motives of his conduct, nor ſignified any intention of altering it. As he left the apartment, he turned towards the Queen, and told her, that ſhe ſhould not ſee his face again, for a long time. A few days after, he wrote to Mary, and mentioned two things as grounds of his diſguſt. She herſelf, he ſaid, no longer admitted him into any confidence, and had deprived him of all power; and the nobles, after her example, treated him with open neglect, ſo that he appeared in every place without the dignity and ſplendor of a King.

1566.

NOTHING could be more mortifying to Mary, than this intended flight of the King's, which would have ſpread the infamy of their domeſtic quarrel all over Europe. Compaſſion for a Monarch who would then appear to be forced into exile by her neglect and ill uſage, might have diſpoſed mankind to entertain ſentiments concerning the cauſes of their diſcord, little to her advantage. In order, therefore, to prepoſſeſs the minds of her allies, and to ſcreen her reputation from any cenſure with which Darnly might endeavour to load it, the Privy council tranſmitted a narrative of this whole tranſaction, both to the King, and to the Queen Mother of France. It is drawn with great art, and ſets Mary's conduct in the moſt favourable point of light*

Mary endeavours to prevent his intended flight.

ABOUT this time, the licence of the borderers called for redreſs. And Mary reſolving to hold a court of juſtice at Jedburgh, the inhabitants of ſeveral adjacent counties were ſummoned to attend their Sovereign in arms, according to cuſtom†. Bothwell was, at that time Lieutenant or Warden of all the marches, an office among the moſt important in the kingdom; and though uſually divided into three diſtinct governments, beſtowed by the Queen's favour upon him alone. In order to diſplay his own valour and activity in the diſcharge of this truſt, he attempted to ſeize a gang of banditti, who, lurking among the marſhes of Liddeſdale, infeſted the reſt of the country. But while he was laying hold of one of thoſe deſperado's, he was wounded by him in ſeveral places, ſo that his followers were obliged to carry him to Hermitage caſtle. Mary inſtantly flew thither, with an impatience which ſtrongly marks the anxiety of a lover, but little ſuited the dignity of a Queen ‡. Finding

October 16.

* Keith, 345, 347. † Ibid. 353. Good. vol. i. 302.

‡ The diſtance between Jedburgh and Hermitage is 18 Scotch miles, through a country almoſt impaſſable. The ſeaſon of the year was far advanced. Bothwell

 ſeems

Book IV. 1566. ing that Bothwell was threatened with no dangerous ſymptom, ſhe returned that ſame day to Jedburgh. The fatigue of ſuch a journey, added to the anguiſh of mind ſhe had ſuffered on Bothwell's account, threw her next morning into a violent fever *. Her life was deſpaired of, but her youth, and the vigour of her conſtitution reſiſted the malignity of her diſeaſe. During the continuance of the Queen's illneſs, the King, who reſided at Stirling, never came
November 5. near Jedburgh †. And when he afterwards thought fit to make his appearance there, he met with ſuch a cold reception, as did not encourage him to make any long ſtay ‡. Mary ſoon recovered ſtrength enough to return along the eaſtern borders to Dunbar.

While ſhe reſided in this place, her attention was turned towards England. Elizabeth, notwithſtanding her promiſe, and even proclamations to the contrary, not only allowed, but encouraged Morton and his aſſociates to remain in England ‖. Mary, on the other hand, afforded her protection to ſeveral Engliſh fugitives. Each Queen watched the motions of the other with a jealous attention, and ſecretly countenanced the practices, which werec arrying on, to diſturb the adminiſtration of her rival.

ſeems to have been wounded in a ſcuffle, occaſioned by the deſpair of a ſingle man, rather than in any open inſurrection of the borderers. It does not appear that the Queen was attended thither by any conſiderable train. Had any military operation been neceſſary, as is ſuppoſed, Good. vol. i. 304. it would have been extremely improper to riſque the Queen's perſon in an expedition againſt thieves. So ſoon as the Queen found Bothwell to be in no danger, ſhe inſtantly returned; and after this we hear no more of the inſurrection, nor have we any proof that the rioters took refuge in England. No other reaſon but that which we have produced, ſeems ſufficient to account for the Queen's conduct.

* Keith, 351, 352.
† Ibid. Append. 133.
‡ Knox, 400.
‖ Cald. vol. ii. 15.

For

1566.

For this purpoſe, Mary's Ambaſſador, Robert Melvil, and her other emiſſaries, were extremely active and ſucceſsful. We may impute, in a good degree, to their intrigues, that ſpirit which appeared in the Parliament of England, and which raiſed a ſtorm that threatened Elizabeth's domeſtic tranquillity, more than any other event of her reign, and required all her art and dexterity to allay it.

The Engliſh Parliament favours Mary's pretenſions to the ſucceſſion.

Elizabeth had now reigned eight years, without diſcovering the leaſt intention to marry. A violent diſtemper, with which ſhe had lately been ſeized, having endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with the proſpect of all thoſe calamities which are occaſioned by a diſputed and dubious ſucceſſion; a motion was made, and eagerly liſtened to in both houſes, for addreſſing the Queen, to provide againſt any ſuch danger in times to come, either by ſignifying her own reſolution to marry, or by conſenting to an act eſtabliſhing the order of ſucceſſion to the Crown *. Her love to her ſubjects, her duty to the public, her concern for poſterity, it was pretended, not only called upon, but obliged her to take one of theſe ſteps. The inſuperable averſion which ſhe had all along diſcovered for marriage, made it improbablethat ſhe would chuſe the former; and if ſhe complied with the latter requeſt, no title to the Crown could, with any colour of juſtice, be ſet in oppoſition to that of the Scottiſh Queen. Elizabeth was ſagacious enough to ſee the remoteſt conſequences of this motion, and obſerved them with the utmoſt anxiety. Mary, by refuſing ſo often to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, had plainly intimated a deſign of embracing the firſt promiſing opportunity for proſecuting her right to the Engliſh Crown; and by her ſecret negociations, ſhe had gained many to favour her title †. All the Roman Catholics ardently wiſhed for her ſucceſſion. Her

* D'Ewes Journ. of Parl. 105. † Melv. 136.

Book IV. 1566.

gentleneſs and humanity had removed many of thoſe apprehenſions which the Proteſtants entertained on account of her religion. The court faction, which envied the power of Cecil, and endeavoured to wreſt the adminiſtration out of his hands, advanced the pretenſions of the Scottiſh Queen in oppoſition to him. The union of the two kingdoms was a deſireable object to all wiſe men in both nations; and the birth of the young Prince was a ſecurity for the continuance of this bleſſing, and gave hopes of its perpetuity.

Elizabeth's perplexity on that account.

UNDER theſe circumſtances, and while the nation was in ſuch a temper, a parliamentary declaration of Mary's title would have been highly detrimental to Elizabeth. The preſent unſettled ſtate of the ſucceſſion left much in her power. Her reſentment alone might have gone far towards excluding any of the competitors from the Crown; and the dread of this had hitherto reſtrained, and overawed the ambition of the Scottiſh Queen. But if this check ſhould be removed, by the legal acknowledgment of her title, Mary would be at full liberty to purſue her dangerous deſigns, and to act without fear or reſerve. Her partizans were already meditating ſchemes for inſurrections in different parts of the kingdom*; and an act of Parliament, recognizing the rights of that Princeſs; whoſe pretenſions they favoured, would have been nothing leſs than a ſignal to arms; and, notwithſtanding Elizabeth's juſt title to the affections of her ſubjects, might have ſhaken and endangered her throne.

Mary endeavours to improve this opportunity.

WHILE this matter remained in ſuſpence in both houſes, an account of it was tranſmitted to Mary by Melvil her Ambaſſador. As ſhe did not want advocates for her right, even among thoſe who were near Elizabeth's perſon, ſhe endeavoured to cultivate the diſpoſition which appeared towards [ſettling the right of ſucceſſion in

* Melv. 147.

her

her favour, by a letter to the Privy Counſellors of England. She expreſſed in it a grateful ſenſe of Elizabeth's friendſhip, which ſhe chiefly aſcribes to their good offices, with their Sovereign, in her behalf. She declared her reſolution to live in perpetual amity with England, without urging or purſuing her claim upon the Crown, any farther than ſhould be agreeable to the Queen. But, at the ſame time, as her right of ſucceſſion was undoubted, ſhe hoped it would be examined with candour, and judged of with impartiality. The nobles who attended her wrote to the Engliſh Privy Council in the ſame ſtrain *. Mary artfully gave theſe letters the air of being nothing more than a declaration of her own, and of her ſubjects gratitude towards Elizabeth. But as ſhe could not be ignorant of the jealouſy and fear with which Elizabeth obſerved the proceedings of Parliament, a ſtep ſo uncommon as this, of one Prince's entering into public correſpondence with the Privy Counſellors of another, could not be otherwiſe conſtrued than as taken with an intention to encourage the ſpirit which had already been raiſed among the Engliſh. In this light it ſeems to have appeared to Elizabeth herſelf †. But the diſpoſition of her people rendering it neceſſary to treat Mary's perſon with great decency, and her title with much regard, ſhe mentioned it to her only in the ſofteſt language.

NOTHING, however, could be a more cruel mortification to a Princeſs of Elizabeth's character, than the temper which both houſes of Parliament diſcovered on this occaſion. She bent all her policy to defeat, or elude the motion. After allowing the firſt heat of their zeal to evaporate, ſhe called into her preſence a certain number of each houſe. She ſoothed and careſſed them; ſhe threatened and promiſed; ſhe remitted ſubſidies which were due;

Elizabeth ſooths and gains her Parliament.

* Keith, 354. Append. 136. † Keith. 357.

and

Book IV. 1566.

and refuſed thoſe which were offered; and in the end prevailed to have this formidable motion put off for that ſeſſion. Happily for her, the conduct of the Scottiſh Queen, and the misfortunes which befel her, prevented the revival of ſuch a motion in any future Parliament *.

MEAN time, in order to preſerve the reputation of impartiality, and that ſhe might not drive Mary into any deſperate meaſure, ſhe committed to the Tower one Thornton, who had publiſhed ſomething derogatory to the right of the Scottiſh line †; and ſignified her diſpleaſure againſt a member of the houſe of Commons, who ſeemed, by ſome words in a ſpeech, to glance at Mary ‡.

An extraordinary ſtep of Mary's in favour of Popery.

AMIDST all her other cares, Mary was ever ſolicitous to promote the intereſt of that religion which ſhe profeſſed. The reeſtabliſhment of the Romiſh doctrine ſeems to have been her favourite paſſion; and though the deſign was concealed with care, and conducted with caution, ſhe purſued it with a perſevering zeal. At this time, ſhe ventured to lay aſide ſomewhat of her uſual reſerve; and the aid which ſhe expected from the Popiſh Princes, who had engaged in the league of Bayonne, encouraged her to take a ſtep, which, if we conſider the temper of the nation, appears to be extremely bold. Having formerly held a ſecret correſpondence with the court of Rome, ſhe now reſolved to allow a Nuncio from the Pope publickly to enter her dominions. Cardinal Laurea, at that time Biſhop of Mondovi, was the perſon on whom Pius V. conferred this office, and along with him he ſent the Queen a preſent of 20,000 crowns ‖. It is not the character of the Papal court, to open its treaſury upon diſtant or imagi-

* D'Ewes Journ. 104.—130. Camd. 399. Melv. 119. Haynes, 446.
† Camd. 401. ‡ Haynes, 449. ‖ Vita Card. Laur. ap. Burn. vol. iii. 325.

nary

nary hopes. The buſineſs of the Nuncio in Scotland could be no other, than to attempt a reconciliation of the kingdom to the Romiſh ſee. Thus Mary herſelf underſtood it. And in her anſwer to a letter which ſhe received from the Pope, after expreſſing her grateful ſenſe of his paternal care and liberality, ſhe promiſes that ſhe would bend her whole ſtrength towards the re-eſtabliſhment and propagation of the Catholic faith; that ſhe would receive the Nuncio with every poſſible demonſtration of reſpect, and concur, with the utmoſt vigour, in all his deſigns towards promoting the honour of God, and reſtoring peace to the kingdom; that ſhe would celebrate the baptiſm of the Prince, according to the ceremonies which the Romiſh ritual preſcribes, hoping that her ſubjects would be taught, by this example, again to reverence the ſacraments of the church, which they had ſo long treated with contempt; and that ſhe would be careful to inſtill early into her ſon the principles of a ſincere love and attachment to the Catholic faith *. But though the Nuncio was already arrived at Paris, and had ſent over one of his attendants with part of the money, the Queen did not think the juncture proper for his reception. Elizabeth was preparing to ſend a magnificent embaſſy into Scotland, againſt the time of the Prince's baptiſm, and as it would have been improper to offend her, ſhe wiſely contrived, under various pretences, to detain Laurea at Paris †. The convulſions into which the kingdom was thrown ſoon after, made it impoſſible for him to purſue his journey any farther.

AT the very time that Mary was ſecretly carrying on theſe negociations for ſubverting the Reformed Church, ſhe did not ſcruple publickly to employ her authority towards obtaining for its Miniſters a more certain and comfortable ſubſiſtence ‡. During this

* Conæi Vita Mariæ ap. Jebb. vol. ii. 51. † Keith, Append. 135.

‡ Keith, 561, 562. Knox, 401.

Book IV. 1566. year, ſhe iſſued ſeveral proclamations and acts of council for that purpoſe, and readily approved of every ſcheme which was propoſed for the more effectual payment of their ſtipends. This part of her conduct does little honour to Mary's integrity; and though juſtified by the example of Princes, who often reckon falſhood and deceit among the neceſſary arts of government, and even authoriſed by the pernicious caſuiſtry of the Romiſh Church, which transfers breach of faith to heretics, from the liſt of crimes, to that of duties, muſt, however, be numbered among thoſe blemiſhes which never ſtain a truly great and generous character.

December. Her averſion for the King exceſſive.

As neither the French nor Piedmonteſe Ambaſſadors were yet arrived, the baptiſm of the Prince was put off from time to time. Mean while Mary fixed her reſidence at Craigmillar *. Such a retirement, perhaps, ſuited the preſent temper of her mind, and induced her to prefer it before her own palace of Holy-rood-houſe. Her averſion for the King grew every day more confirmed, and was become altogether incurable. A deep melancholy ſucceeded to that gaiety of ſpirit, which was natural to her. The raſhneſs and levity of her own choice, and the King's ingratitude and obſtinacy, filled her with ſhame and with deſpair. A variety of paſſions preyed at once on a mind, all whoſe ſenſations were exquiſite, and all its emotions ſtrong, and often extorted from her, the laſt wiſh of the unfortunate, that life itſelf would come to an end †.

A divorce between them propoſed.

Murray and Maitland obſerved all thoſe workings of paſſion in the breaſt of the Queen, and conceived hopes of turning them to the advantage of their ancient aſſociates, Morton, and the other conſpirators againſt Rizio. They were ſtill in baniſhment, and the Queen's reſentment againſt them continued unabated. Murray and

* Keith, 355. † Ibid. Pref. vii.

the

the Secretary flattered themſelves, however, that her inclination to be ſeparated from Darnly would ſurmount this deep-rooted averſion, and that the hopes of an event ſo deſireable might induce her to be reconciled to the conſpirators. It was eaſy to find reaſons, in the King's behaviour, on which to found a ſentence of divorce. This ſentence they had intereſt enough to obtain, and to procure the ratification of it in Parliament. In return for this ſervice, they propoſed to ſtipulate with the Queen to grant a pardon to Morton and his followers. The deſign was firſt of all communicated to Argyll, who, as well as Murray, owed his return into Scotland to the conſpiracy againſt Rizio. Huntly and Bothwell, who at that time directed all Mary's councils, were likewiſe admitted into the concert. They all joined together in making the overture to the Queen, and enforced it with all Maitland's eloquence *. But Mary, however deſirous of obtaining that deliverance from Darnly's caprices, with which they endeavoured to allure her, had nevertheleſs good reaſons for rejecting the method, by which they propoſed to accompliſh it. The birth of her ſon had greatly ſtrengthened her claim upon the Engliſh ſucceſſion, and encouraged the abettors of it to appear with greater boldneſs, and to act with more vigour. She could ſcarce hope to be divorced from her huſband, without throwing ſome imputation on her ſon. This might open a new diſpute with regard to the ſucceſſion, and put it in the power of Elizabeth and her Miniſters to call in queſtion the Prince's legitimacy, or at leaſt to ſubject it to all the delays and cavils of a judicial inquiry. The fear of theſe inconveniences weighed with Mary, and determined her rather to endure her hard fate, than to ſeek relief, by venturing on ſuch a dangerous experiment.

BOOK IV. 1566.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. Part ii. 188.

Book IV. 1566. The Earl of Bedford, and the Count de Brienne, the Engliſh and French Ambaſſadors, being arrived, Mary ſet out for Stirling, to celebrate the baptiſm of her ſon. Bedford was attended by a numerous and ſplendid train, and brought preſents from Elizabeth, ſuitable to her own dignity, and the reſpect with which ſhe affected, at that time, to treat the Queen of Scots. Great preparations had been made by Mary, and the magnificence diſplayed by her on this occaſion, exceeded whatever had been formerly known in Scotland. Decem. 17. The ceremony itſelf was performed according to the rites of the Romiſh Church. But neither Bedford, nor any of the Scottiſh nobles who profeſſed the Proteſtant religion, entered within the gates of the chapel *. The ſpirit of that age, firm and uncomplying, would not, upon any inducement, condeſcend to witneſs an action, which it eſteemed idolatrous.

The King's capricious behaviour at the baptiſm of the Prince. Henry's behaviour, at this juncture, perfectly diſcovers the exceſs of his caprice, as well as of his folly. He choſe to reſide at Stirling, but confined himſelf to his own apartment. And as the Queen diſtruſted every nobleman who ventured to converſe with him, he was left in abſolute ſolitude. Nothing could be more ſingular, or was leſs expected, than his chuſing to appear in a manner, that both publiſhed the contempt under which he had fallen, and, by expoſing the Queen's domeſtic unhappineſs to the obſervation of ſo many foreigners, looked like a ſtep taken on purpoſe to mortify and to offend her. Mary felt this inſult ſenſibly; and notwithſtanding all her efforts to aſſume the gaiety which ſuited the occaſion, and which was neceſſary for the polite reception of her gueſts, ſhe was ſometimes obliged to retire, in order to be at liberty to indulge her ſorrow, and give vent to her tears †. The King

* Keith, 360. † Ibid. Pref. vii.

ſtill

ſtill perſiſted in his deſign of retiring into foreign parts, and daily threatened to put it in execution *. BOOK IV. 1566.

THE ceremony of witneſſing the Prince's baptiſm was not the ſole buſineſs of Bedford's embaſſy. His inſtructions contained an overture, which ought to have gone far towards extinguiſhing thoſe jealouſies which had ſo long ſubſiſted between the two Queens. The treaty of Edinburgh, which has been ſo often mentioned, was the principal occaſion of theſe. The ſpirit, however, which had riſen to ſuch an height in the late Parliament, the power of the party which abetted the Scottiſh Queen's title, the number and activity of her agents in different parts of the kingdom, alarmed Eliza- Elizabeth endeavours to accommodate her differences with Mary.

* Camden affirms, 401. that Bedford was commanded by Elizabeth not to give Darnly the title of King. As this was an indignity, not to be born, either by Mary or her huſband, it hath been aſſerted to be the cauſe of the King's abſence from the ceremony of his ſon's baptiſm. Keith, 360. Good. 319. But, 1. No ſuch thing is to be found among Bedford's inſtructions, the original of which ſtill remains. Keith, 356. 2. Bedford's advice to the Queen by Melvil is utterly inconſiſtent with Camden's aſſertion. Melv. 153. Melvil's account is confirmed by Elizabeth's inſtructions to Sir Henry Norris, where ſhe affirms that ſhe commanded Bedford to employ his beſt offices towards reconciling Mary to her huſband, which he had attempted to no purpoſe. Digges's Compl. Ambaſſ. p. 13: A paper publiſhed Append. N° XVIII. proves the ſame thing. 3. Le Croc the French Reſident mentions the King's abſence, but without giving that reaſon for it, which has been founded on Camden's words, though, if that had been the real one, he would ſcarce have failed to mention it. His account of this matter is that which we have followed, Keith, Pref. vii. 4. He informs his court, that on account of the difference betwixt the King and the Queen, he had refuſed to hold any further correſpondence with the former, though he appears, in many inſtances, to have been his great confident. ibid. 5. As the King was not preſent at the baptiſm, he ſeems to have been excluded from any ſhare in the ordinary adminiſtration of buſineſs. Two acts of Privy Council, one on the 20th, and the other on the 21ſt of December, are found in Keith, 562. They both run in the Queen's name alone. The King ſeems not to have been preſent. This could not be owing to Elizabeth's inſtructions to Bedford.

beth,

Book IV. 1566. beth, and induced her to forego any advantage, which the ambiguous and artful expreſſions in that treaty might afford her. All ſhe now demanded of Mary, was to renounce any title to the Crown of England during her life, and the lives of her poſterity; and on the other hand, ſhe engaged to take no ſtep, which might prove injurious to Mary's claim upon the ſucceſſion *.

MARY could not, with decency, reject a propoſition ſo equitable; ſhe inſiſted, however, that Elizabeth ſhould order the right upon which ſhe claimed to be legally examined, and publickly recognized, and particularly that the teſtament of Henry VIII. whereby he had excluded the deſcendants of his eldeſt ſiſter the Queen of Scotland, from the place due to them in the order of ſucceſſion, might be produced, and conſidered by the Engliſh nobility. Mary's Miniſters had credulouſly embraced an opinion, that this teſtament which they ſo juſtly conceived to be injurious to their Miſtreſs, was a mere forgery; and on different occaſions had urged Elizabeth to produce it. Mary would have ſuffered conſiderably by gaining this point. The original teſtament is ſtill extant, and not the leaſt doubt can be entertained of its genuineneſs and authenticity. But it was not Elizabeth's intention to weaken or to ſet aſide the title of the houſe of Stewart. She aimed at nothing more, than to keep the queſtion concerning the ſucceſſion perplexed and undecided, and by induſtriouſly eluding this requeſt, ſhe did real ſervice to Mary's cauſe †.

A FEW days after the baptiſm of the Prince, Morton and all the other conſpirators againſt Rizio obtained their pardon, and leave to return into Scotland. Mary, who had hitherto continued inexorable to every entreaty in their behalf, yielded at laſt to the ſoli-

* Keith, 356. † Ibid. 361, 358. Note (*c.*) Murdin. 368.

citations

citations of Bothwell *. He could hope for no ſucceſs in thoſe bold deſigns on which his ambition reſolved to venture, without drawing aid from every quarter. By procuring a favour for Morton and his aſſociates, of which they had good reaſon to deſpair, he expected to ſecure a band of faithful and determined adherents. Book IV. 1566.

The King ſtill remained at Stirling, in ſolitude, and under contempt. His impatience in this ſituation, together with the alarm given him, by the rumour of a deſign to ſeize his perſon, and confine him to priſon †, was the occaſion of his leaving that place in an abrupt manner, and retiring to his father at Glaſgow.

June 25. Decem. 25. Church affairs.

Two Aſſemblies of the Church were held during this year. New complaints were made, and upon good grounds, of the poverty and contempt under which the Proteſtant clergy were ſuffered to languiſh. Penurious as the allotment for their ſubſiſtence was, they had not received the leaſt part of what was due for the preceding year ‡. Nothing leſs than a zeal, ready to endure and to ſuffer every thing for a good cauſe, could have perſuaded men to adhere to a church, ſo indigent and ſo neglected. The extraordinary expences, occaſioned by the Prince's baptiſm, had exhauſted the Queen's treaſury, and the ſums appropriated for the ſubſiſtence of the clergy were diverted into other channels. The Queen was therefore obliged to prevent the juſt remonſtrances of the aſſembly, by falling on ſome new method for the relief of the church. Some ſymptoms of liberality, ſome ſtretch towards munificence might have been expected in an aſſignment which was made with an intention of ſoothing and ſilencing the clergy. But both the Queen and the nobles held faſt the riches of the church which they had ſeized. A ſum, which, at the higheſt computation, can ſcarce be

* Good. vol. i. 140. Melv. 154. † Keith, Pref. viii. ‡ Ibid. 562.

reckoned

Book IV. 1566. reckoned equal to 9000 *l*, ſterling *, was deemed ſufficient for the maintenance of a whole national church, by men who had lately ſeen ſingle monaſteries poſſeſſed of revenues far ſuperior in value.

The eccleſiaſtics in that age bore the grievances which affected themſelves alone, with aſtoniſhing patience; but wherever the Reformed religion was threatened, they were extremely apt to be alarmed, and to proclaim, in the loudeſt manner, their apprehenſions of danger. A juſt occaſion of this kind was given them, a ſhort time before the meeting of the Aſſembly. The uſurped and oppreſſive juriſdiction of the ſpiritual courts had been aboliſhed by the Parliament 1560, and Commiſſaries were appointed to hear and determine the cauſes which formerly came under their cognizance †. Among the few acts of that Parliament, to which Mary had paid any regard this was one. She had confirmed the authority of the Commiſſaries, and had given them inſtructions for directing their proceedings ‡, which are ſtill of great authority in that court. From that time theſe judges had continued in the uninterrupted exerciſe of their function, when of a ſudden the Queen iſſued a proclamation, reſtoring the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's to his ancient juriſdiction, and depriving the Commiſſaries of all authority ‖.

A motive, which cannot be juſtified, rendered the Queen not unwilling to venture upon this raſh action. She had been contriving, for ſome time, how to re-eſtabliſh the Popiſh religion; and the reſtoring the ancient eccleſiaſtics to their former juriſdiction, ſeemed to be a conſiderable ſtep towards that end. The motive which prompted Bothwell, to whoſe influence over the Queen this action muſt be chiefly imputed **, was ſtill more criminal. His enterpriſing ambition had already formed that bold deſign, which ſoon after he put in exe-

* Keith, 562. † Id. 152. ‡ Id. 251. ‖ Knox, 403. ** Id. ibid.

cution,

cution, and the uſe which we ſhall hereafter find him making of that authority, which the Popiſh eccleſiaſtics regained, diſcovers the reaſons of his preſent conduct, in contributing to revive their power. The Proteſtant clergy were not unconcerned ſpectators of an event, which threatened their religion with unavoidable deſtruction; but as they deſpaired of obtaining the proper remedy from the Queen herſelf, they addreſſed a remonſtrance to the whole body of the Proteſtant nobility, full of that ardent zeal for religion, which the danger to which it was expoſed at that time, ſeemed to require *. What effects this vehement exhortation might have produced, we have no opportunity of judging, the attention of the nation being quickly turned towards events of another, and more tragical nature.

Book IV. 1566.

IMMEDIATELY upon the King's leaving Stirling, and before he could reach Glaſgow, he was ſeized with a dangerous diſtemper. The ſymptoms which attended it were violent and unuſual, and in that age it was commonly imputed to the effects of poiſon †. It is impoſſible, amidſt the contradictions of hiſtorians, to decide with certainty concerning its nature, or its cauſe ‡. His life was in the utmoſt

The King falls ſick at Glaſgow. 1567.

* Keith, 567. † Melv. 154. Knox, 401.

‡ Buchanan and Knox are poſitive that the King had been poiſoned. They mention the black and putrid puſtules which broke out all over his body. Buchanan adds, that Abernethy his phyſician plainly declared that poiſon was the cauſe of theſe ſymptoms, and that the Queen refuſed to allow her own phyſician to attend him, Buch. 349. Knox, 401. 2. Blackwood Cauſin. &c. Jebb. vol. ii. 24, 59. aſſert, that the ſmall pox was the diſeaſe with which the King was ſeized. He is called a pockiſh man in the Queen's letter, Good. vol. ii. 15. The reaſon given by *French Paris* for lodging the King at the Kirk of Field, viz. leſt the young Prince ſhould catch the infection if he ſtaid in the palace, ſeems to favour this opinion, Ander. vol. ii. 193. Carte mentions it as a proof of Mary's tenderneſs to her huſband, that though ſhe never had the ſmall pox herſelf, ſhe ventured to attend him, vol. iii. 446. This, if it had been true, would have afforded a good pretence for not viſiting

Book IV. 1567. utmoſt danger; but after languiſhing for ſome weeks, the vigour of his conſtitution ſurmounted the malignity of the diſeaſe.

Neglected by Mary.

MARY's neglect of the King, on this occaſion, was equal to that with which he had treated her during her illneſs at Jedburgh. She no longer felt that warmth of conjugal affection which prompts to ſympathy, and delights in all thoſe tender offices which ſooth and alleviate ſickneſs and pain. At this juncture, ſhe did not even put on the appearance of this paſſion. Notwithſtanding the King's danger, ſhe amuſed herſelf with excurſions to different parts of the country, and ſuffered near a month to elapſe before ſhe viſited him at Glaſgow. By that time, the violence of the diſtemper was over, and the King, though weak and languiſhing, was out of all danger.

The breach between them irreparable.

THE breach between Mary and her huſband was not occaſioned by any of thoſe ſlight diſguſts, which interrupt the domeſtic union, without altogether diſſolving it. Almoſt all the paſſions, which operate with greateſt violence on a female mind, and drive it to the moſt dangerous extremes, concurred in raiſing and fomenting this unhappy quarrel. Ingratitude for the favours ſhe had beſtowed, contempt of her perſon, violations of the marriage-vow, encroachments on her power, conſpiracies againſt her favourites, jealouſy, inſolence, and obſtinacy, were the injuries of which Mary had great reaſon to complain. She felt them with the utmoſt ſenſibility; and added to the anguiſh of diſappointed love, they produced thoſe ſymptoms of deſpair which we have already deſcribed. Her reſentment againſt the King ſeems not to have abated from the time of his leaving Stirling. In a letter written with her own hand, to her ambaſſa-

him ſooner; but Mary had the ſmall pox in her infancy, Sadler's Letters. 3. Biſhop Leſly affirms, that the King's diſeaſe was the French pox, Keith, 364 Note (*b*). In that age, this diſeaſe was eſteemed ſo contagious, that perſons infected with it were removed without the walls of cities.

dor

dor in France, juſt before ſhe ſet out for Glaſgow, no tokens of ſudden reconcilement appear. On the contrary, ſhe mentions, with ſome bitterneſs, the King's ingratitude, the jealouſy with which he obſerved her actions, and the inclination he diſcovered to diſturb her government, and at the ſame time talks of all his attempts with the utmoſt ſcorn *. 1567. January 20.

AFTER this diſcovery of Mary's ſentiments, it was ſcarce to be expected that ſhe would viſit the King, or that any thing but marks of jealouſy and diſtruſt ſhould appear in ſuch an interview. This, however, was far from being the caſe; ſhe not only viſited Henry, but, by all her words and actions, endeavoured to expreſs an uncommon affection for him: And though this made impreſſion on the credulous ſpirit of her huſband, no leſs flexible, on ſome occaſions, than obſtinate on others; yet, to thoſe who are acquainted with the human heart, and who know how ſeldom and how ſlowly ſuch wounds in domeſtic happineſs are healed, this ſudden tranſition will appear with a very ſuſpicious air, and will be conſidered by them as the effect of artifice. Viſits the King at Glaſgow.

BUT it is not on ſuſpicion alone, that Mary is charged with diſſimulation in this part of her conduct. Two of her famous letters to Bothwell were written during her ſtay at Glaſgow, and fully lay open this ſcene of iniquity. He had ſo far ſucceeded in his ambitious and criminal deſign, as to gain an abſolute aſcendant over the Queen. And in a ſituation, ſuch as Mary's, merit not ſo conſpicuous, ſervices of far inferior importance, and addreſs much leſs inſinuating than Bothwell's, may be ſuppoſed to ſteal imperceptibly on a female heart, and entirely to overcome it. Among thoſe in the higher ranks of life, ſcruples with regard to conjugal Her diſſimulation.

* Keith, Pref. viii.

Book IV. 1567. fidelity are, unhappily, neither many, nor ſtrong. Nor did the manners of that court, in which Mary had been educated, contribute to increaſe or to fortify them. The amorous turn of Francis I. and Henry II. the wildneſs of the military character in that age, and the liberty of appearing in all companies, which began to be allowed to women, who had not yet acquired that delicacy of ſentiment, and thoſe poliſhed manners, which alone can render this liberty innocent, had introduced, among the French, a licentiouſneſs of morals that roſe to an aſtoniſhing height. Such examples, which were familiar to Mary from her infancy, could hardly fail of diminiſhing that horror of vice which is natural to a virtuous mind. The King's behaviour would render the firſt approach of forbidden ſentiments leſs ſhocking; reſentment, and diſappointed love, would be apt to repreſent whatever ſoothed her revenge, as juſtifiable on that account; and ſo many concurring cauſes might, almoſt imperceptibly, kindle a new paſſion in her heart.

The motives of it.

BUT whatever opinion we may form with regard to the riſe and progreſs of this paſſion, the letters themſelves breathe all the ardour and tenderneſs of love. The affection which Mary there expreſſes for Bothwell, fully accounts for every ſubſequent part of her conduct; which, without admitting this circumſtance, appears altogether myſterious, inconſiſtent, and inexplicable. That reconcilement with her huſband, of which, if we allow it to be genuine, it is impoſſible to give any plauſible account, is diſcovered, by the Queen's own confeſſion, to have been mere artifice and deceit. As her averſion for her huſband, and the ſuſpicious attention with which ſhe obſerved his conduct, became univerſally known, her ears were officiouſly filled, as is uſual in ſuch caſes, with groundleſs or aggravated accounts of his actions. By ſome, ſhe was told, that the King intended to ſeize the perſon of the Prince his ſon, and in

in his name to uſurp the government; by others ſhe was aſſured, that he reſolved inſtantly to leave the kingdom; that a veſſel was hired for this purpoſe, and lay in the river Clyde ready to receive him *. The laſt was what Mary chiefly dreaded. Henry's retiring into a foreign country muſt have been highly diſhonourable to the Queen, and would have entirely diſconcerted Bothwell's meaſures. While he reſided in Glaſgow, at a diſtance from her, and in that part of the kingdom where the intereſt of his family was greateſt, he might, with more facility, accompliſh his deſigns. In order, therefore, to prevent his executing any ſuch wild ſcheme, it was neceſſary to bring him to ſome place, where he would be more immediately under her own eye. For this purpoſe, ſhe firſt employed all her art to regain his confidence, and then propoſed to remove him to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, under pretence, that there he would have eaſier acceſs to the advice of phyſicians, and that ſhe herſelf could attend him without being abſent from her ſon †. The King was weak enough to ſuffer himſelf to be perſuaded; and being ſtill feeble and incapable of bearing fatigue, was carried in a litter to Edinburgh.

BOOK IV. 1567.

Prevails on him to come to Edinburgh.

THE place prepared for his reception was a houſe, belonging to the Provoſt of a collegiate church, called Kirk of Field. It ſtood almoſt upon the ſame ſpot where the houſe belonging to the Principal of the Univerſity now ſtands. Such a ſituation, on a riſing ground, and at that time in an open field, had all the advantages of healthful air to recommend it; but, on the other hand, the ſolitude of the place rendered it extremely proper for the commiſſion of that crime, with a view to which, it ſeems manifeſtly to have been choſen.

MARY continued to attend the King with the moſt aſſiduous care. She ſeldom was abſent from him through the day; ſhe ſlept

He is murdered there.

* Keith, Pref. viii. † Good. vol. ii. 8.

ſeveral

BOOK IV. 1567. ſeveral nights in the chamber under his apartment. She heaped on him ſo many marks of tenderneſs and confidence, as, in a great meaſure, quieted thoſe ſuſpicions which had ſo long diſturbed him. But while he was fondly indulging in dreams of the return of his former happineſs, he ſtood on the very brink of deſtruction. On Sunday the ninth of February, about eleven at night, the Queen left the Kirk of Field, in order to be preſent at a maſque in the palace. At two next morning, the houſe in which the King lay was blown up with gun-powder. The noiſe and ſhock, which this ſudden exploſion occaſioned, alarmed the whole city. The inhabitants ran to the place whence it came. The dead body of the King, with that of a ſervant who ſlept in the ſame room, were found lying in an adjacent garden, without the city wall, untouched by fire, and with no bruiſe or mark of violence.

His character. SUCH was the unhappy fate of Henry Stewart Lord Darnly, in the twenty firſt year of his age. The indulgence of fortune, and his own external accompliſhments, without any other merit, had raiſed him to an height of dignity, of which he was altogether unworthy. By his folly and ingratitude, he loſt the heart of a woman who doated on him to diſtraction. His inſolence and inconſtancy alienated from him thoſe nobles who had contributed moſt zealouſly towards his elevation. His levity and caprice expoſed him to the ſcorn of the people, who once revered him as the deſcendant of their ancient Kings and heroes. Had he died a natural death, his end would have been unlamented, and his memory have been ſoon forgotten; but the cruel circumſtances of his murder, and the remineſs with which it was afterwards avenged, have made his name to be remembered with regret, and have rendered him the object of pity to which he had otherwiſe no title.

EVERY

1567.

Bothwell and the Queen ſuſpected of the murder.

EVERY one's imagination was at work to gueſs who had contrived and executed this execrable deed. The ſuſpicion fell, with almoſt a general conſent, on Bothwell *; and ſome reflections were thrown out, as if the Queen herſelf were no ſtranger to the crime. Of Bothwell's guilt there remains the fulleſt evidence, that the nature of the action will admit. The Queen's known ſentiments with regard to her huſband, gave a great appearance of probability to the imputation with which ſhe was loaded †.

TWO days after the murder, a proclamation was iſſued by the Queen, offering a conſiderable reward to any perſon who ſhould diſcover thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch a horrid and deteſtable crime ‡. And though Bothwell was now one of the greateſt ſubjects in the kingdom, formidable on account of his own power, and protected by the Queen's favour, it was impoſſible to ſuppreſs the ſentiments and indignation of the people. Papers were affixed to the moſt public places of the city, accuſing him of the murder, and naming his accomplices; pictures appeared to the ſame purpoſe, and voices were heard, in the middle of the night, charging him with that barbarous action. But the authors of theſe rumours did not confine their accuſations to Bothwell alone, they inſinuated that the Queen herſelf was acceſſory to the crime ‖. This bold accuſation, which ſo directly attacked Mary's reputation, drew the attention of her council; and by engaging them in an inquiry after the authors of theſe libels, diverted them from ſearching after the murderers of the King **. It could ſcarce be expected that Mary herſelf would be extremely ſolicitous to diſcover thoſe who had rid her of an huſband, whom ſhe had ſo violently hated. It was Bothwell's in-

* Melv. 155. Anderſ. vol. i. 156.

† See Diſſertation concerning the murder of Henry Darnly, and the genuineneſs of Mary's letters to Bothwell. Appendix.

‡ Anderſ. vol. i. 36. ‖ Id. vol. ii. 156. ** Id. vol. i. 38.

tereſt,

Book IV. 1567. tereſt, who had the ſupreme direction of this, as well as of all other affairs, to ſtifle and ſuppreſs whatever evidence ſhould be offered, and to cover, if poſſible, the whole tranſaction under the veil of darkneſs and of ſilence. Some inquiry, however, was made, and ſome perſons called before the council; but the examination was conducted with the moſt indecent remiſſneſs, and in ſuch a manner, as to let in no light upon that ſcene of guilt *.

It was not her own ſubjects alone who ſuſpected Mary of being acceſſory to this unnatural crime; nor did an opinion, ſo diſhonourable to her character, owe its riſe and progreſs to the jealouſy and malice of her factious nobles. The report of the manner and circumſtances of the King's murder ſpread quickly over all Europe, and, even in that age, which was accuſtomed to deeds of violence, it excited univerſal horror. As her unhappy breach with her huſband had long been matter of public diſcourſe, the firſt conjectures which were formed with regard to his death, were extremely to her diſadvantage. Her friends, at a loſs what apology to offer for her conduct, called on her to proſecute the murderers with the utmoſt diligence, and expected that the rigour of her proceedings would prove the beſt and fulleſt vindication of her innocence †.

Lennox accuſes Bothwell of the King's murder.

Lennox, at the ſame time, incited Mary to vengeance with inceſſant importunity. This nobleman had ſhared in his ſon's diſgrace, and being treated by Mary with neglect, uſually reſided at a diſtance from court. Rouzed, however, by an event no leſs ſhocking to the heart of a father, than fatal to all his ſchemes of ambition, he ventured to write to the Queen, and to offer his advice

February 21.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 167, 168. † Keith, Pref. ix.

with

with reſpect to the moſt effectual method for diſcovering and convicting thoſe who had ſo cruelly deprived him of a ſon, and her of a huſband. He urged her to proſecute thoſe who were guilty, with vigour, and to bring them to a ſpeedy trial; he declared his own ſuſpicion of Bothwell, and of thoſe who were named as his accomplices; he required that, out of regard to decency, and in order to encourage evidence to appear againſt them, the perſons accuſed of ſuch an atrocious crime ſhould be committed to cuſtody, or at leaſt excluded from her court and preſence *. 1567.

MARY was then at Seaton, whither ſhe had retired after the burial of the King, whoſe body was depoſited among the Monarchs of Scotland, in a private, but decent manner †. The former part of the Earl's demand, could not, on any pretence, be eluded; and it was reſolved to bring Bothwell immediately to trial. But, inſtead of confining him to any priſon, Mary admitted him into all her councils, and allowed a perſon, univerſally reputed the murderer of her huſband, to enjoy all the ſecurity, the dignity, and the power of a favourite ‡. The offices which Bothwell already poſſeſſed, gave him the command of all the ſouth of Scotland. The caſtle of Edinburgh, however, was a place of too much conſequence, not to wiſh it in his own power. The Queen, in order to prevail on the Earl of Mar to ſurrender it, conſented to put the perſon of the young Prince in his hands, and immediately beſtowed the government of that important fortreſs upon Bothwell ||. So many ſteps in her conduct, inconſiſtent with all the rules of prudence, and of decency, muſt be imputed to an exceſs either of folly or of love. Mary's known character fully vindicates her from the former; of the latter, many and ſtriking proofs ſoon appeared.

Mary continues to favour him.

March 19.

* Keith, 369. † Anderſ. vol. i. 23. ‡ Id. ibid. 40, &c.
|| Id. ibid. Pref. 64. Keith, 379.

Book IV.

1567. March 19. Haſtens on his trial.

No direct evidence had yet appeared againſt Bothwell; but as time might bring to light the circumſtances of a crime, in which ſo many accomplices were concerned, it was of great importance to haſten on the trial, while nothing more than general ſuſpicions, and uncertain ſurmiſes, could be produced by his accuſers. For this reaſon, in a meeting of Privy Council held on the 28th of March, the 12th of April was appointed for the day of trial. And tho' the law allowed, and the manner in which criminal cauſes were carried on in that age required a much longer interval, it appears, from ſeveral circumſtances, that this ſhort ſpace was conſiderably contracted, and that Lennox had only eleven days warning to prepare for accuſing a perſon, ſo far ſuperior to himſelf, both in power and in favour *. No man could be leſs in a condition to contend with an antagoniſt who was thus ſupported. Tho' Lennox's paternal eſtate had been reſtored to him, when he was recalled into Scotland, it ſeems to have been conſiderably impaired during his baniſhment. His vaſſals, while he reſided in England, had been accuſtomed to

* The act of Privy Council, appointing the day of Bothwell's trial, bears date March the 28th, which happened on a Thurſday, Anderſ. vol. i. 50. The Queen's warrant to the *meſſengers*, impowering them to ſummon Lennox to be preſent, is dated on the 29th. Anderſ. vol. ii. 97. He was ſummoned by public proclamation at the croſs of Edinburgh on the ſame day. Ibid. 100. He was ſummoned at his dwelling-houſes in Glaſgow and Dunbarton the 30th of March, the 1ſt and 2d days of April. Ibid. 101. He was ſummoned at Perth, April 1ſt, Ibid. 102. Though Lennox reſided at that time 40 miles from Edinburgh, the citation might have been given him ſooner. Such an unneceſſary delay affords ſome cauſe for ſuſpicion. 'Tis true, Mary, in her letter, March 24th, invited Lennox to come to Edinburgh the enſuing week; this gave him warning ſome days ſooner, that ſhe intended to bring on the trial without delay. But the preciſe time could not be legally, or certainly known to Lennox ſooner than 11 or 12 days, before the day on which he was required to appear. By the law and practice of Scotland, at that time, parties were ſummoned in caſes of treaſon 40 days previous to the trial.

ſome

ſome degree of independance, and he had not recovered that abſolute aſcendant over them, which a feudal chief uſually poſſeſſed. He had no reaſon to expect the concurrence of any of thoſe factions into which the nobles were divided. During the ſhort period of his ſon's proſperity, he had taken ſuch ſteps as gave riſe to an open breach with Murray and all his adherents. The partizans of the houſe of Hamilton were his hereditary and mortal enemies. Huntly was linked in the cloſeſt confederacy with Bothwell; and thus, to the diſgrace of the nation, Lennox ſtood alone in a cauſe, where both honour and humanity called ſo loudly on his countrymen to ſecond him.

It is remarkable too, that Bothwell himſelf was preſent, and ſat as a member in that meeting of Privy Council, which gave directions with regard to the time and manner of his trial. And he ſtill enjoyed not only full liberty, but was received into the Queen's preſence with the ſame diſtinguiſhed familiarity as formerly *.

Lennox craves a delay.

Nothing could be a more cruel diſappointment to the wiſhes and reſentment of a father, than ſuch a premature trial; every ſtep towards which ſeemed to be taken by directions from the perſon who was himſelf accuſed of the crime, and calculated on purpoſe to conceal rather than to detect his guilt. Lennox foreſaw what would be the iſſue of this mock inquiry, and with how little ſafety to himſelf, or ſucceſs to his cauſe, he could venture to appear on the day prefixed. In his former letters, though under expreſſions the moſt reſpectful, ſome ſymptoms of his diſtruſting the Queen may be diſcovered. He ſpoke out now, in plain language. He complained of the injury done him, by hurrying on the trial with ſuch illegal precipitation. He repreſented once more, the indecen-

* Anderſ. vol. i. 50, 52.

Book IV. 1567. cy of allowing Bothwell, not only to enjoy perſonal liberty, but to retain his former influence over her councils. He again required her, as ſhe regarded her own honour, to give ſome evidence of her ſincerity in proſecuting the murder, by confining the perſon who was ſuſpected, on good grounds, to be the author of it; and, till that were done, he ſignified his own reſolution not to be preſent at a trial, the manner and circumſtances of which were ſo irregular, and unſatisfactory *.

Applies for this purpoſe to Elizabeth.

He ſeems, however, to have expected little ſucceſs from this application to Mary; and therefore, at the ſame time, beſought Elizabeth to interpoſe, in order to obtain ſuch a delay as he demanded †. Nothing can be a ſtronger proof, how violently he ſuſpected the one Queen, than his ſubmitting to implore the aid of the other, who had treated his ſon with the utmoſt contempt, and himſelf and family with the greateſt rigour. Elizabeth, who was never unwilling to interpoſe in the affairs of Scotland, wrote inſtantly to Mary, adviſed her to delay the trial for ſome time, and urged, in ſuch ſtrong terms, the ſame arguments which Lennox had uſed, as might have convinced her to what an unfavourable conſtruction her conduct would be liable, if ſhe perſiſted in her preſent method of proceeding ‡.

The trial proceeds.

Neither her intreaties, however, nor thoſe of Lennox, could prevail to have the trial put off. On the day appointed, Bothwell appeared, but with ſuch a formidable retinue, that it would have been dangerous to condemn, and impoſſible to puniſh him. Beſides a numerous body of his friends and vaſſals aſſembled, according to cuſtom, from different parts of the kingdom, he was attended

* Anderſ. vol. i. 52. See Appendix, N° XIX. † Good. vol. ii. 352. ‡ Anderſ. Pref. 60.

by a band of hired ſoldiers, who marched with flying colours along the ſtreets of Edinburgh *. A court of juſtice was held, with the accuſtomed formalities. An indictment was preſented againſt Bothwell, and Lennox was called upon to make good his accuſation. In his name appeared Robert Cunningham, one of his dependants. He excuſed his Maſter's abſence, on account of the ſhortneſs of the time, which prevented his aſſembling his friends and vaſſals, without whoſe aſſiſtance he could not, with ſafety, venture to ſet himſelf in oppoſition to ſuch a powerful antagoniſt. For this reaſon, he deſired the court to ſtop proceeding, and proteſted, that any ſentence which ſhould be paſſed, at that time, ought to be deemed illegal and void. Bothwell, on the other hand, inſiſted, that the court ſhould inſtantly proceed to trial. One of Lennox's own letters, in which he craved of the Queen to proſecute the murderers without delay, was produced. Cunningham's objections were overruled; and the jury, conſiſting of Peers and Barons of the firſt rank, found Bothwell not guilty of the crime.

Bothwell is acquitted.

No perſon appeared as an accuſer, not a ſingle witneſs was examined, nor any evidence produced againſt him. The jury, under theſe circumſtances, could do nothing elſe but acquit him. Their verdict, however, was far from gratifying the wiſhes, or ſilencing the murmurs of the people. Every circumſtance in the trial gave grounds for ſuſpicion, and excited indignation; and the judgment pronounced, inſtead of being a proof of Bothwell's innocence, was eſteemed an argument of his guilt. Paſquinades and libels were affixed to different places, expreſſing the ſentiments of the public, with the utmoſt virulence of language.

* Anderſ. vol. i. 135.

THE

BOOK IV. 1567. THE jury themſelves ſeem to have been aware of the cenſure, to which their proceedings would be expoſed; and, at the ſame time, that they returned their verdict acquitting Bothwell, the Earl of Caithneſs proteſted, in their name, that no crime ſhould be imputed to them on that account, becauſe no accuſer had appeared, and no proof was brought of the indictment. He took notice, likewiſe, that the ninth inſtead of the tenth of February was mentioned in the indictment, as the day on which the murder had been committed. A circumſtance, which diſcovers the extreme inaccuracy of thoſe who prepared the indictment; and at a time when men were diſpoſed, and not without reaſon, to be ſuſpicious of every thing, this ſmall matter contributed to confirm and to increaſe their ſuſpicions *.

EVEN Bothwell himſelf did not rely on the judgment which he had obtained in his favour, as a full vindication of his innocence. Immediately after his acquittal, he, in compliance with a cuſtom which was not then obſolete, publiſhed a writing, in which he offered to fight, in ſingle combat, any Gentleman of good fame, who ſhould preſume to accuſe him of being acceſſory to the murder of the King.

MARY, however, continued to treat him, as if he had been cleared by the moſt unexceptionable and ſatisfactory evidence. The aſcendant he had gained over her heart, as well as over her councils, was more viſible than ever; and Lennox, who could not expect that his own perſon would be ſafe in a country where the murderer of his ſon had been abſolved, without regard to juſtice; and loaded with honours, in contempt of decency; fled with precipitation towards England †.

* Bothw. Trial. Anderſ. vol. i. 97, &c. † Keith, 378. Note *(d)*.

Two

1567.

Two days after the trial, a Parliament was held, at the opening of which the Queen diſtinguiſhed Bothwell, by appointing him to carry the ſceptre before her *. Moſt of the Acts paſſed in this Aſſembly, were calculated on purpoſe to ſtrengthen his party, and to promote his deſigns. He obtained the ratification of all the poſſeſſions and honours which the partiality of the Queen had conferred upon him; and the act to that effect contained the ſtrongeſt declarations of his faithful ſervices to the Crown, in all times paſt. The ſurrender of the caſtle of Edinburgh by Mar was confirmed. The law of attainder againſt Huntly was repealed, and he, and his adherents, were reſtored to the eſtates and honours of their anceſtors. Several of thoſe who had been on the jury which acquitted him, obtained the ratifications of the grants made in their favour. And as paſquinades daily multiplied, a law paſſed, whereby thoſe, into whoſe hands any paper of that kind fell, were commanded inſtantly to deſtroy it; and if, through their neglect, it ſhould be allowed to ſpread, they were ſubjected to a capital puniſhment, in the ſame manner as if they had been the original authors †.

A Parliament held.

Remarkable law in favour of the Reformation.

BUT the abſolute dominion, which Bothwell had acquired over Mary's mind, appeared in the cleareſt manner, by an act in favour of the Proteſtant religion, to which, at this time, ſhe gave her aſſent. Mary's attachment to the Romiſh faith was uniform and ſuperſtitious; ſhe had never laid aſide the deſign, nor loſt the hopes of reſtoring it. She had, of late, come under new engagements to that purpoſe, and in conſequence of theſe, had ventured upon ſome ſteps more public and vigorous than any ſhe had formerly taken. But Bothwell was prompted, by powerful motives, to promote this law. He had been guilty of crimes, which rendered him the object of juſt and univerſal deteſtation. He was meditating

* Keith, 378. Note *(d.)* † Ibid. 280.

others,

Book IV. 1567. others, which he eaſily foreſaw would heighten the public indignation againſt him. By this popular law, he might hope to divert, or to delay the reſentment of the nation, and flattered himſelf, that the obtaining this unexpected and legal ſecurity for the Proteſtant religion, would atone for much guilt, ſilence the clamours of the clergy, and induce the people to connive at, or to tolerate his crimes. The act itſelf was ſo favourable to the doctrine of the Reformers, that the Parliament, which met next year, under very different leaders, could ſubſtitute nothing ſtronger or more explicit in its place; and thought it ſufficient to ratify it word for word *. To paſs ſuch an act, was utterly inconſiſtent with all the maxims which Mary followed in every other period of her life; but what could never be extorted from her by the ſolicitations of the Aſſemblies of the church, or by the intreaties of her people, the more powerful influence of Bothwell now obtained †.

Bothwell prevails on the nobles to recommend him as an huſband to the Queen.

EVERY ſtep taken by Bothwell had hitherto been attended with all the ſucceſs which his moſt ſanguine wiſhes could expect. He had entirely gained the Queen's heart; the murder of the King had excited no public commotion; he had been acquitted by his peers of any ſhare in that crime; and their deciſion had been, in ſome

* Parl. I. Jac. VI. c. 31.

† Buchanan, Hiſt. 355, not only omits taking any notice of this law, but aſſerts, that the Queen, though ſhe had given promiſes in favour of the reformed religion, refuſed to permit any act to paſs in ſupport of it, and even diſmiſſed the deputies of the church with contempt. Spotſwood, 202. and Calderwood, vol. iii. 41. both affirm the ſame thing. It would not have been neceſſary to obſerve this inſtance of Buchanan's inaccuracy; but that an author ſo converſant in our laws as Spotſwood, and one ſo induſtrious as Calderwood, ſhould commit ſuch an error, when not only the original ſtatute was extant in the records of Mary's Parliament, but even when the printed act of Murray's Parliament was before their eyes, is remarkable. Even Buchanan himſelf has taken notice of this act. Detectio, p. 8.

ſort

sort, ratified in Parliament. But in a kingdom, where the regal authority was so extremely limited, and the power of the nobles so formidable, he durst not venture on the last action, towards which all his ambitious projects tended, without their approbation. In order to secure this, he, immediately after the dissolution of Parliament, invited all the nobles who were present to an entertainment. Having filled the house with his friends and dependants, and surrounded it with armed men *, he opened to the company his intention of marrying the Queen, whose consent, he told them, he had already obtained; and demanded their approbation of this match, which, he said, was no less acceptable to their Sovereign, than honourable to himself †. Huntley and Seaton, who were privy to all Bothwell's schemes, and promoted them with the utmost zeal; the Popish ecclesiastics, who were absolutely devoted to the Queen, and ready to sooth all her passions, instantly declared their satisfaction with what he had proposed. The rest, who dreaded the exorbitant power which Bothwell had acquired, and observed the Queen's growing affection towards him in all her actions, were willing to make a merit of yielding to a measure, which they could neither oppose, nor defeat. Some few were confounded and inraged. But, in the end, Bothwell, partly by promises and flattery, partly by terror and force, prevailed on all who were present to subscribe a paper, which leaves a deeper stain than any occurrence in that age, on the honour and character of the nation.

1567. April 19.

THIS paper contained the strongest declarations of Bothwell's innocence, and the most ample acknowledgment of his good services to the kingdom. If any future accusation should be brought against him, on account of the King's murder, the subscribers promised to

* Good. vol. ii. 141. † Anders. vol. i. 94.

Book IV. 1567. ſtand by him as one man, and to hazard their lives and fortunes in his defence. They recommended him to the Queen, as the moſt proper perſon ſhe could chuſe for a huſband; and if ſhe ſhould condeſcend to beſtow on him that mark of her regard, they undertook to promote the marriage, and to join him with all their forces, in oppoſing any perſon who endeavoured to obſtruct it *. Among the ſubſcribers of this paper, we find ſome who were the Queen's chief confidents, others who were ſtrangers to her counſels, and obnoxious to her diſpleaſure; ſome who faithfully adhered to her, through all the viciſſitudes of her fortune, and others who became the principal authors of her ſufferings; ſome paſſionately attached to the Romiſh ſuperſtition, and others zealous advocates for the Proteſtant faith †. No common intereſt can be ſuppoſed to have united men of ſuch oppoſite principles and parties, in recommending to their Sovereign a ſtep ſo injurious to her honour, and ſo fatal to her peace. This ſtrange coalition was the effect of much artifice, and muſt be conſidered as the boldeſt and moſt maſterly ſtroke of Bothwell's addreſs. It is obſervable, that amidſt all the altercations and mutual reproaches of the two parties which aroſe in the kingdom, this unworthy tranſaction is ſeldom mentioned. Conſcious on both ſides, that in this particular, their conduct could ill bear examination, and would redound little to their fame, they always touch upon it unwillingly, and ſeem deſirous that it ſhould remain in darkneſs, or be buried in oblivion. But as ſo many perſons, who, both at that time, and ever after, poſſeſſed the Queen's favour, ſubſcribed this paper, the ſuſpicion becomes ſtrong, that Bothwell's ambitious hopes were neither unknown to Mary, nor diſapproved by her ‡.

THESE

* Anderſ. vol. i. 177. † Keith, 382.

‡ Of all the different ſyſtems with regard to this tranſaction, that of Camden ſeems to be the leaſt accurate, and the worſt founded. He ſuppoſes that Bothwell was

THESE ſuſpicions are confirmed by the moſt direct proof. Melvil, at that time, enjoyed a conſiderable ſhare in her favour. He, as well as his brother, kept a ſecret correſpondence in England, with thoſe who favoured her pretenſions to that Crown. The rumour of her intended marriage with Bothwell having early ſpread in that kingdom, excited the utmoſt indignation; and he received a letter from thence, which repreſented, in the ſtrongeſt terms, what would be the fatal effects of ſuch an imprudent ſtep. Melvil put this letter into the Queen's hands, and inforced it with the utmoſt warmth. She not only diſregarded theſe remonſtrances, but communicated the matter to Both- BOOK IV. 1567.

was hated by Murray, Morton, &c. who had been his aſſociates in the murder of the King, and that they now wanted to ruin him. He affirms, at the ſame time, that the ſubſcriptions to this paper were obtained by them, out of fear that Bothwell might ſink in his hopes, and betray the whole bloody ſecret. 404. But beſides the abſurdity of ſuppoſing, that any man's enemies would contribute towards raiſing him to ſuch high dignity, on the uncertain hopes of afterwards depriving him of it; beſides the impoſſibility of accompliſhing ſuch a marriage, if it had been either unknown to the Queen, or diſagreeable to her; we may obſerve that this ſuppoſition is deſtroyed by the direct teſtimony of the Queen herſelf, who aſcribes the conſent of the nobles to Bothwell's artifices, *who purchaſed it by giving them to underſtand that we were content therewith.* Anderſ. vol. i. 94. It would have been no ſmall advantage to Mary, if ſhe could have repreſented the conſent of the nobles to have been their own voluntary deed. It is ſtill more ſurpriſing to find Leſly aſcribing this paper to Murray and his faction. Anderſ. vol. i. 26. The Biſhop himſelf was one of the perſons who ſubſcribed it. Keith, 383. The King's commiſſioners, at the conference held at York 1568, pretended that none of the nobles, except the Earl of Huntly, would ſubſcribe this paper till a warrant from the Queen was produced, by which they were allowed to do ſo; this warrant they had in their cuſtody, and exhibited. Ander. vol. iv. Part ii. 59. This differs from Buchanan's account, who ſuppoſes that all the nobles preſent ſubſcribed the paper on the 19th, and that, next day, they obtained the approbation of what they had done, by way of ſecurity to themſelves, 355.

Book IV. 1567. well. Melvil, in order to ſave his life, was obliged to fly from court, whither he durſt not return, till the Earl's rage began to abate *. At the ſame time, Elizabeth warned Mary of the danger and infamy to which ſhe would expoſe herſelf, by ſuch an indecent choice; but an advice from her met with ſtill leſs regard †.

Bothwell carries the Queen by force to Dunbar.

THREE days after the riſing of Parliament, Mary went from Edinburgh to Stirling, in order to viſit the Prince her ſon. Bothwell had now brought his ſchemes to full maturity, and every precaution being taken, which could render it ſafe to venture on the laſt and deciſive ſtep, the natural impetuoſity of his ſpirit did not ſuffer him to deliberate any longer. Under pretence of an expedition againſt the free-booters on the borders, he aſſembled his followers; and marching out of Edinburgh with a thouſand horſe, turned

April 24. ſuddenly towards Linlithgow, met the Queen on her return near that place, diſperſed her ſlender train without reſiſtance, ſeized on her perſon, and conducted her, together with a few of her cour-

* Melv. 156. According to Melvil, Lord Herreis likewiſe remonſtrated againſt the marriage, and conjured the Queen, on his knees, to lay aſide all thoughts of ſuch a diſhonourable alliance. 156. But it has been obſerved, that Herreis is one of the nobles who ſubſcribed the bond, April 19. Keith, 383. 2. That he is one of the witneſſes to the marriage articles between the Queen and Bothwell, May 14. Good. vol. ii. 61. 3. That he ſat in council with Bothwell, May 17. Keith, 386. But this remonſtrance of Lord Herreis againſt the marriage happened before theſe, made by Melvil himſelf, 157. Melvil's remonſtrance muſt have happened ſome time before the meeting of Parliament; for after offending Bothwell, he retired from court; he allowed his rage time to ſubſide, and had again joined the Queen, when ſhe was ſeized, April 24. 158. The time which muſt have elapſed, by this account of the matter, was perhaps ſufficient to have gained Herreis, from being an oppoſer, to become a promoter of the marriage. Perhaps Melvil may have committed ſome miſtake with regard to this fact, ſo far as relates to Lord Herreis. He could not well be miſtaken with regard to what himſelf did.

† Anderſ. vol. i. 106.

tiers,

tiers, as a priſoner to his caſtle of Dunbar. She expreſſed neither ſurprize, nor terror, nor indignation, at ſuch an outrage committed on her perſon, and ſuch an inſult offered to her authority, but ſeemed to yield without ſtruggle or regret *. Melvil was, at that time, one of her attendants; and the officer by whom he was ſeized informed him, that nothing was done without the Queen's own conſent †. If we may rely on the letters publiſhed in Mary's name, the ſcheme had been communicated to her, and every ſtep towards it was taken with her participation and advice ‡.

BOTH the Queen and Bothwell thought it of advantage to employ this appearance of violence. It afforded her a decent excuſe for her conduct; and while ſhe could plead that it was owing to force rather than choice, ſhe hoped that her reputation, among foreigners at leaſt, would eſcape without cenſure, or be expoſed to leſs reproach. Bothwell could not help diſtruſting all the methods which had hitherto been uſed, for vindicating him from any concern in the murder of the King. Something was ſtill wanting for his ſecurity, and for quieting his guilty fears. This was a pardon under the Great Seal. By the laws of Scotland, the moſt heinous crime muſt be mentioned by name in a pardon, and then all leſſer offences are deemed to be included under the general clauſe, *and all other crimes whatſoever* ‖. To ſeize the perſon of the Prince, is high treaſon; and Bothwell hoped, that a pardon obtained for this, would extend to every thing of which he had been accuſed **.

Is divorced from his own wife.

BOTHWELL, having now got the Queen's perſon into his hands, it would have been unbecoming either a politician or a man of gallantry to have delayed conſummating his ſchemes. For this

* Keith, 383. † Melv. 158. ‡ Good. vol. ii. 37.
‖ Parl. 6. Jac. IV. c. 62. ** Anderſ. vol. iv. Part ii. 61.

purpoſe,

Book IV. purpoſe, he inſtantly commenced a ſuit, in order to obtain ſentence of divorce from his wife Lady Jean Gordon, the Earl of Huntly's ſiſter. This proceſs was carried on, at the ſame time, both before Proteſtant and Popiſh judges; before the former, in the court of Commiſſaries; and before the latter, in the ſpiritual court of the Archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, whoſe juriſdiction the Queen had lately reſtored. The pretexts which he pleaded were trivial, or ſcandalous. But his authority had greater weight than the juſtice of his cauſe; and in both courts, ſentence of divorce was pronounced, with the ſame indecent and ſuſpicious precipitancy *.

1567. April 29.

While this infamous tranſaction was carrying on, the Queen reſided at Dunbar; detained as a priſoner, but treated with the utmoſt reſpect. Soon after Bothwell, with a numerous train of his dependants, conducted her to Edinburgh; but inſtead of lodging her in the palace of Holy-rood-houſe, he conveyed her to the caſtle, of which he was governor. The diſcontent of the nation rendered this precaution neceſſary. In an houſe unfortified, and of eaſy acceſs, the Queen might have been reſcued without difficulty out of his hands. In a place of ſtrength, ſhe was ſecured from all the attempts of his enemies.

May 3.

One ſmall difficulty ſtill remained to be ſurmounted. As the Queen was kept in a ſort of captivity by Bothwell, a marriage concluded in that condition might be imputed to force, and be held invalid. In order to obviate this, Mary appeared in the court of ſeſſion, and in preſence of the Chancellor, the other judges, and ſeveral of the nobility, declared that ſhe was now at full liberty; and though Bothwell's violence in ſeizing her perſon had, at firſt, excited her indignation, yet his reſpectful behaviour ſince that time

May 12.

* And. I. 132.

had

had not only appeaſed her reſentment, but determined her to raiſe him to higher honours *. BOOK IV. 1567.

Is married to the Queen.

WHAT theſe were ſoon became public. The title of Duke of Orkney was conferred upon Bothwell; and on the 15th of May his marriage with the Queen, which had ſo long been the object of his wiſhes, and the motive of his crimes, was ſolemnized. The ceremony was performed, in public, according to the rites of the Proteſtant Church, by Adam Bothwell biſhop of Orkney, one of the few prelates who had embraced the Reformation, and on the ſame day, was celebrated in private, according to the forms preſcribed by the Popiſh religion †. The boldneſs with which Craig, the Miniſter who was commanded to publiſh the banns, teſtified againſt the deſign; the ſmall number of the nobles, who were preſent at the marriage; and the ſullen and diſreſpectful ſilence of the people, when the Queen appeared in public; were manifeſt ſymptoms of the violent and general diſſatisfaction of her own ſubjects. The refuſal of Du Croc the French ambaſſador to be preſent at the nuptial ceremony or entertainment diſcovers the ſentiments of her allies, with regard to this part of her conduct. And although every other action in Mary's life could be juſtified by the rules of prudence, or reconciled to the principles of virtue, this fatal marriage would remain an inconteſtible proof of her raſhneſs, if not of her guilt.

MARY'S firſt care was to offer ſome apology for her conduct, to the courts of France and England. The inſtructions to her ambaſſadors ſtill remain, and are drawn by a maſterly hand. But under all the artificial and falſe colouring ſhe employs, it is eaſy to diſcover not only that many of the ſteps ſhe had taken were un-

* And. 1. 87. † And. 1. 136. 2. 276.

juſtifiable,

Book IV. 1567. juſtifiable, but that ſhe herſelf was conſcious that they could not be juſtified *.

THE title of King was the only thing, which was not beſtowed upon Bothwell. Notwithſtanding her attachment to him, Mary remembered the inconveniencies, which had ariſen from the raſh advancement of her former huſband to that honour, She agreed, however, that he ſhould ſign, in token of conſent, all the public writs iſſued in her name †. This was nothing more than mere form, but, together with it, he poſſeſſed all the reality of power. The Queen's perſon was in his hands; ſhe was ſurrounded more cloſely than ever by his creatures; none of her ſubjects could obtain audience without his permiſſion; and, unleſs in his own preſence, none but his confidents were permitted to converſe with her ‡. The Scotch Monarchs were accuſtomed to live among their ſubjects as fathers or as equals, without diſtruſt, and with little ſtate; armed guards ſtanding at the doors of the royal apartment, difficulty of acceſs, diſtance and retirement, were things unknown, and unpopular.

Endeavours to become maſter of the Prince's perſon.

THESE precautions were neceſſary for ſecuring to Bothwell the power, which he had acquired. But, without being maſter of the perſon of the young Prince, he eſteemed all that he had gained to be precarious and uncertain. The Queen had committed her ſon to the care of the Earl of Mar. The fidelity and loyalty of that nobleman were too well known to expect that he would be willing to put the prince into the hands of the man, who was ſo violently ſuſpected of having murdered his father. Bothwell, however, laboured to get the Prince into his power, with an anxiety,

* And. 1. 89. † Good. 2. 60. ‡ And. 1. 136.

which

which gave riſe to the blackeſt ſuſpicions. All his addreſs as well as authority were employed to perſuade, or to force Mar, into a compliance with his demands *. And it is no ſlight proof both of the firmneſs and dexterity of that nobleman, that he preſerved a life of ſo much importance to the nation, from lying at the mercy of a man, whom fear or ambition might have prompted to violent attempts againſt it.

General indignation which the Queen's conduct excited.

The eyes of neighbouring nations were fixed, at that time, upon the great events, which had happened in Scotland, during three months. A King murdered, with the utmoſt cruelty, in the prime of his days, and in his capital city; the perſon ſuſpected of that odious crime ſuffered not only to appear publickly in every place, but admitted into the preſence of the Queen, diſtinguiſhed by her favour, and entruſted with the chief direction of her affairs; ſubjected to a trial, which was carried on with moſt ſhameleſs partiality, and acquitted by a ſentence, which ſerved only to confirm the ſuſpicions of his guilt; divorced from his wife, on pretences frivolous, or indecent; and after all this, inſtead of meeting with the ignominy due to his actions, or the puniſhment merited by his crimes, permitted openly, and without oppoſition, to marry a Queen, the wife of the Prince whom he had aſſaſſinated, and the guardian of thoſe laws which he had been guilty of violating. Such a quick ſucceſſion of incidents, ſo ſingular, and ſo deteſtable, is not to be found in any other hiſtory. They left, in the opinion of foreigners, a mark of infamy on the character of the nation. The Scots were held in abhorrence all over Europe; they durſt ſcarce appear any-where in public; and after ſuffering ſo many atrocious deeds to paſs with impunity, they were univerſally reproached as

* Melv. 160. Buch. 361.

Book IV. 1567.

men void of courage, or of humanity, as equally regardleſs of the reputation of their Queen, and the honour of their country *.

The nobles combine againſt her and Bothwell.

THESE reproaches rouzed the nobles, who had been hitherto amuſed by Bothwell's artifices, or intimidated by his power. The manner in which he exerciſed the authority which he had acquired, his repeated attempts to become maſter of the Prince's perſon, together with ſome raſh threatenings againſt him, which he let fall †, added to the violence and promptneſs of their reſolutions. A conſiderable body of them aſſembled at Stirling, and entered into an aſſociation for the defence of the Prince's perſon. Argyll, Athol, Mar, Morton, Glencairn, Home, Lindſay, Boyd, Murray of Tullibardin, Kirkaldy of Grange, and Maitland the Secretary, were the heads of this confederacy ‡. Stewart Earl of Athol was remarkable for an uniform and bigotted attachment to popery, but his indignation on account of the murder of the King, to whom he was nearly allied, and his zeal for the ſafety of the Prince, overcame, on this occaſion, all conſiderations of religion, and united him with the moſt zealous Proteſtants. Several of the other nobles acted, without queſtion, from a laudable concern for the ſafety of the Prince, and the honour of their country. But the ſpirit which ſome of them diſcovered, during the ſubſequent revolutions, leaves little room to doubt, that ambition or reſentment were the real motives of their conduct; and that, on many occaſions, while they were purſuing ends juſt and neceſſary, they were actuated by principles and paſſions altogether unjuſtifiable.

THE firſt accounts of this league filled the Queen and Bothwell with great conſternation. They were no ſtrangers to the ſentiments

* Anderſ. vol. i. 128, 134. Melv. 163. See Appendix, N°. XX.
† Ibid. 161. ‡ Keith, 394.

of

of the nation, with reſpect to their conduct; and though their marriage had not met with public oppoſition, they knew that it had not been carried on without the ſecret diſguſt and murmurings of all ranks of men. They foreſaw the violence with which this indignation would burſt out, after being ſo long ſuppreſſed. And in order to prepare for the ſtorm, Mary iſſued a proclamation, requiring her ſubjects to take arms, and to attend her huſband by a day appointed. At the ſame time, ſhe publiſhed a ſort of manifeſto, in which ſhe laboured to vindicate her government from thoſe imputations with which it had been loaded, and employed the ſtrongeſt terms to expreſs her concern for the ſafety and welfare of the Prince her ſon. Neither of theſe produced any conſiderable effect. Her proclamation was ill obeyed, and her manifeſto met with little credit *.

May 28.

The Queen and Bothwell retire to Dunbar.

The confederate Lords carried on their preparations with no leſs activity, and with much more ſucceſs. Among a warlike people, men of ſo much power and popularity found it an eaſy matter to raiſe an army. They were ready to march before the Queen and Bothwell were in a condition to reſiſt them. The caſtle of Edinburgh was the place whither the Queen ought naturally to have retired, and there her perſon might have been perfectly ſafe. But the confederates had fallen on means to ſhake, or corrupt the fidelity of Sir James Balfour the deputy governor, and Bothwell durſt not commit to him ſuch an important truſt. He conducted the Queen to the caſtle of Borthwick, and on the appearance of Lord Home, with a body of his followers, before that place, he fled with precipitation to Dunbar, and was followed by the Queen, diſguiſed in men's cloaths. The confederates advanced towards Edinburgh,

June 6.

* Keith, 387, 395, 396.

Book IV. 1567. where Huntly endeavoured, in vain, to animate the inhabitants to defend the town againſt them. They entered without oppoſition, and were inſtantly joined by many of the citizens, whoſe zeal became the firmeſt ſupport of their cauſe *.

In order to ſet their own conduct in the moſt favourable light, and to rouze the public indignation againſt Bothwell, the nobles publiſhed a declaration of the motives which had induced them to take arms. All Bothwell's paſt crimes were enumerated, all his wicked intentions diſplayed and aggravated, and every true Scotſman was called upon to join them in avenging the one, and in preventing the other †.

Mean while, Bothwell aſſembled his forces at Dunbar, and as he had many dependants in that corner, he ſoon gathered ſuch ſtrength, that he ventured to advance towards the confederates. Their troops were not numerous; the ſuddenneſs and ſecrecy of their enterprize gave their friends at a diſtance no time to join them; and as it does not appear that they were ſupported either with money or fed with hopes by the Queen of England, they could not have kept long in a body. But on the other hand, Bothwell durſt not riſque a delay ‡. His army followed him with reluctance in this quarrel, and ſerved him with no cordial affection; ſo that his only hopes of ſucceſs was in ſurprizing the enemy, or in ſtriking the blow before his own troops had leiſure to recollect themſelves, or to imbibe the ſame unfavourable opinion of his actions, which had ſpread over the reſt of the nation. Theſe motives determined the Queen to march forward, with an inconſiderate and fatal ſpeed.

* Keith, 398. † Anderſ. vol. i. 128. ‡ Keith, 401.

On

1567.

The nobles march againſt them. June 15.

ON the firſt intelligence of her approach, the confederates advanced to meet her. They found her forces drawn up on the ſame ground which the Engliſh had occupied at the battle of Pinkie. The numbers on both ſides were nearly equal; but there was no equality in point of diſcipline. The Queen's army conſiſted chiefly of a multitude, haſtily aſſembled, without courage or experience in war. The troops of the confederates were compoſed of Gentlemen of rank and reputation, followed by their moſt truſty dependants, who were no leſs brave than zealous *.

An accommodation attempted.

DU CROC the French Ambaſſador, who was in the field, laboured, by negociating both with the Queen and the nobles, to put an end to the quarrel without the effuſion of blood. He repreſented to the confederates the Queen's inclinations towards peace, and her willingneſs to pardon the offences which they had committed. Morton replied, with warmth, that they had taken arms not againſt the Queen, but againſt the murderer of her huſband, and if he were given up to juſtice, or baniſhed from her preſence, ſhe ſhould find them ready to yield the obedience which is due from ſubjects to their Sovereign. Glencairn added, that they did not come to aſk pardon for any offence, but to puniſh thoſe who had offended. Theſe haughty anſwers convinced the Ambaſſador, that his mediation would be ineffectual, and that their paſſions were too high to allow them to liſten to any pacific propoſitions, or to think of retreating after having proceeded ſo far †.

THE Queen's army was poſted to advantage, on a riſing ground. The confederates advanced to the attack reſolutely, but ſlowly, and with the caution which was natural on that unhappy field. Her

* Cald. vol. ii. 48, 49. † Keith, 401.

troops

Book IV. 1567. troops were alarmed at their approach, and diſcovered no inclination to fight. Mary endeavoured to animate them; ſhe wept, ſhe threatened, ſhe reproached them with cowardice; but all in vain. A few of Bothwell's immediate attendants were eager for the encounter; the reſt ſtood wavering and irreſolute, and ſome began to ſteal out of the field. Bothwell attempted to inſpirit them, by offering to decide the quarrel, and to vindicate his own innocence in ſingle combat with any of his adverſaries. Kirkaldy of Grange, Murray of Tullibardin, and Lord Lindſay contended for the honour of entering the liſts againſt him. But this challenge proved to be a mere bravade. Either the conſciouſneſs of guilt deprived Bothwell of his wonted courage, or the Queen, by her authority, forbade the combat *.

After the ſymptoms of fear diſcovered by her followers, Mary would have been inexcuſable, had ſhe hazarded a battle. To have retreated in the face of an enemy, who had already ſurrounded the hill on which ſhe ſtood, with part of their cavalry, was utterly impracticable. In this ſituation, ſhe was under the cruel neceſſity of putting herſelf into the hands of thoſe ſubjects who had taken arms againſt her. She demanded an interview with Kirkaldy, a brave and generous man, who commanded an advanced body of the enemy. He, with the conſent and in name of the leaders of the party, promiſed that, on condition ſhe would diſmiſs Bothwell from her preſence, and govern the kingdom by the advice of her nobles, they would honour and obey her as their Sovereign †.

Bothwell obliged to fly.

During this parley, Bothwell took his laſt farewell of the Queen, and rode off the field with a few followers. This diſmal reverſe happened exactly one month after that marriage, which had coſt him

* Cald. vol. ii. 50. † Good. vol. ii. 164. Melv. 165.

ſo

ſo many crimes to accompliſh, and which leaves ſo foul a ſtain on Mary's memory. BOOK IV. 1567.

Mary ſurrenders to the nobles.

As ſoon as Bothwell retired, Mary ſurrendered to Kirkaldy, who conducted her toward the confederate army, the leaders of which received her with much reſpect; and Morton, in their name, made ample profeſſions of their future loyalty and obedience *. But ſhe was treated by the common ſoldiers with the utmoſt inſolence and indignity. As ſhe marched along, they poured upon her all the opprobrious names, which are beſtowed only on the loweſt and moſt infamous criminals. Wherever ſhe turned her eyes, they held up before her a ſtandard, on which was painted the dead body of the late King, ſtretched on the ground, and the young Prince kneeling before it, and uttering theſe words, "Judge and revenge my cauſe, O Lord!" Mary turned with horror from ſuch a ſhocking ſight. She began already to feel the wretched condition to which a captive Prince is reduced. She uttered the moſt bitter complaints, ſhe melted into tears, and could ſcarce be kept from ſinking to the ground. The confederates carried her towards Edinburgh, and, in ſpite of many delays, and after looking with the fondneſs and credulity natural to the unfortunate for ſome unexpected relief, ſhe arrived there. The ſtreets were covered with multitudes, whom zeal or curioſity had drawn together, to behold ſuch an unuſual ſcene. The Queen, worn out with fatigue, covered with duſt, and bedewed with tears, was expoſed as a ſpectacle to her own ſubjects, and led to the Provoſt's houſe. Notwithſtanding all her arguments and intreaties, the ſame ſtandard was carried before her, and the ſame inſults and reproaches repeated. A woman, young, beautiful, and in diſtreſs, is naturally the object of compaſſion. The

* Good. vol. ii. 165.

com-

Book IV. 1567. comparison of their present misery with their former splendour, usually softens us in favour of illustrious sufferers. But the people beheld the deplorable situation of their Sovereign with insensibility; and so strong was their persuasion of her guilt, and so great the violence of their indignation, that the sufferings of their Queen did not, in any degree, mitigate their resentment, or procure her that sympathy, which is seldom denied to unfortunate Princes *.

* Melvil. 166. Buch. 364.

THE

THE HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

BOOK V.

THE confederate Lords had proceeded to ſuch extremities, againſt their Sovereign, that it now became almoſt impoſſible for them either to ſtop ſhort, or to purſue a courſe leſs violent. Many of the nobles had refuſed to concur with them in their enterprize; others openly condemned it. A ſmall circumſtance might abate that indignation with which the multitude were, at preſent, animated againſt the Queen, and deprive them of that popular applauſe which was the chief foundation of their power. Theſe conſiderations inclined ſome of them to treat the Queen with great lenity.

Book V.

1567. Deliberations of the nobles concerning the Queen.

BUT, on the other hand, Mary's affection for Bothwell continued as violent as ever; ſhe obſtinately refuſed to hearken to any propoſal for diſſolving their marriage, and determined not to abandon a man, for whoſe love ſhe had already ſacrificed ſo much*. If they ſhould allow her to recover the ſupreme power, the firſt exertion of it would be to recall Bothwell; and they had reaſon, both from his

* Keith, 419, 446, 449. Melv. 167. See Append. N° XXI.

Book V. 1567.

reſentment from her conduct, and from their own, to expect the ſevereſt effects of her vengeance. Theſe conſiderations ſurmounted every other motive; and reckoning themſelves abſolved, by Mary's incurable attachment to Bothwell, from the engagements which they had come under when ſhe yielded herſelf a priſoner, they, without regarding the duty which they owed her as their Queen, and without conſulting the reſt of the nobles, carried her next evening, under a ſtrong guard, to the caſtle of Lochlevin, and ſigned a warrant to William Douglas the owner of it, to detain her as a priſoner. This caſtle is ſituated in a ſmall iſland, in the middle of a lake. Douglas, to whom it belonged, was a near relation of Morton's, and had married the Earl of Murray's mother. In this place, under ſtrict cuſtody, with a few attendants, and ſubjected to the inſults of a haughty woman, who boaſted daily of being the lawful wife of James V. Mary ſuffered all the rigour and miſeries of captivity *.

They impriſon her in Lochlevin.

IMMEDIATELY after the Queen's impriſonment, the confederates were at the utmoſt pains to ſtrengthen their party; they entered into new bonds of aſſociation; they aſſumed the title of *Lords of the Secret Council*, and without any other right, arrogated to themſelves the whole regal authority. One of their firſt acts of power was to ſearch the city of Edinburgh for thoſe who were concerned in the murder of the King. This ſhew of zeal gained reputation to themſelves, and threw an oblique reflection on the Queen for her remiſſneſs. Several ſuſpected perſons were ſeized. Captain Blackadder and three others were condemned and executed. But no diſcovery of importance was made. If we believe ſome hiſtorians, they were convicted by ſufficient evidence. If we give credit to others, their ſentence was unjuſt, and they denied, with their laſt breath, any knowledge of the crime, for which they ſuffered †.

* Keith, 403. Note *(b)*.

† Cald. vol. ii. 53. Crawf. Mem. 35.

AN

AN unexpected accident, however, put into the hands of Mary's enemies what they deemed the fulleſt evidence of her guilt. Bothwell having left, in the caſtle of Edinburgh, a caſket, containing ſeveral ſonnets and letters written with the Queen's own hand; he now ſent one of his confidents to bring to him this precious depoſite. But as his meſſenger returned, he was intercepted, and the caſket ſeized by Morton *. The contents of it were always produced by the party, as the moſt ample juſtification of their own conduct, and the moſt unanſwerable proof of their not having loaded their Sovereign with the imputation of imaginary crimes †.

Some of the nobles favour the Queen.

BUT the confederates, notwithſtanding their extraordinary ſucceſs, were ſtill far from being perfectly at eaſe. That ſo ſmall a part of the nobles ſhould pretend to diſpoſe of the perſon of their Sovereign, or to aſſume the authority which belonged to her, without the concurrence of the reſt, appeared to many of that body to be unprecedented, and preſumptuous. Several of theſe were now aſſembled at Hamilton, in order to deliberate what courſe they ſhould hold, in this difficult conjuncture. The confederates made ſome attempts towards a coalition with them, but without effect. They employed the mediation of the Aſſembly of the Church, to draw them to a perſonal interview at Edinburgh, but with no better ſucceſs. That party, however, though its numbers were formidable, and the power of its leaders great, ſoon loſt reputation by the want of unanamity and vigour; all its conſultations evaporated in murmurs and complaints, and no ſcheme was concerted for obſtructing the progreſs of the confederates ‡.

Elizabeth interpoſes in her behalf.

THERE appeared ſome proſpect of danger from another quarter. This great revolution in Scotland had been carried on without any aid from Elizabeth, and even without her knowledge ‖. And

* Anderſ. vol. ii. 92. Good. vol. ii. 90.

† See Diſſertation at the end of the Appendix. ‡ Keith, 407. ‖ Id. 415.

Book V. 1567. though ſhe was far from being diſpleaſed to ſee the affairs of that kingdom embroiled, or a rival, whom ſhe hated, reduced to diſtreſs; ſhe neither wiſhed that it ſhould be in the power of the one faction entirely to ſuppreſs the other, nor could ſhe view the ſteps taken by the confederates without great offence. Notwithſtanding the popular maxims by which ſhe governed her own ſubjects, her notions of royal prerogative were very exalted. The confederates had, in her opinion, encroached on the authority of their Sovereign, which they had no right to controul, and had offered violence to her perſon, which it was their duty to eſteem ſacred. They had ſet a dangerous example to other ſubjects, and Mary's cauſe became the common cauſe of Princes *. If ever Elizabeth was influenced with regard to the affairs of Scotland, by the feelings of her heart, rather than by conſiderations of intereſt, it was on this occaſion. She inſtantly diſpatched Throgmorton into Scotland, with powers to negociate both with the Queen, and with the confederates. In his inſtructions there appears a remarkable ſolicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation †. And the choice of an Ambaſſador, ſo devoted to the intereſt of the Scotiſh Queen, proves this ſolicitude to have been ſincere. But neither Elizabeth's friendſhip, nor Throgmorton's zeal, were of much avail to Mary. The confederates foreſaw what would be the effects of theſe good offices; and that the Queen, elated by the proſpect of protection, would reject with ſcorn the overtures which they were about to make her. They, for that reaſon, peremptorily denied Throgmorton acceſs to their priſoner. And what propoſitions he made to them in her behalf, they either refuſed, or eluded ‡.

June 30.

Schemes of the confederate nobles.

Mean while they deliberated with the utmoſt anxiety, concerning the ſettlement of the nation, and the future diſpoſal of the Queen's perſon. Elizabeth, obſerving that Throgmorton made no

* Keith, 412, 415. † Id. 411. ‡ Id. 417, 427.

progreſs

progreſs in his negociations with them, and that they would liſten to none of his demands in Mary's favour, turned towards that party of the nobles who were aſſembled at Hamilton, incited them to take arms in order to reſtore their Queen to liberty, and promiſed to aſſiſt them in ſuch an attempt, to the utmoſt of her power *. But they diſcovered no greater union or vigour than formerly, and behaving like men who had given up all concern either for their Queen or their country, tamely allowed an inconſiderable part of their body, whether we conſider it with reſpect to numbers, or to power, to ſettle the government of the kingdom, and to diſpoſe of the Quen's perſon at pleaſure. Many conſultations were held, and various opinions aroſe with regard to each of theſe. Some ſeemed deſirous of adhering to the plan on which the confederacy was at firſt formed; and after puniſhing the murderers of the King, and diſſolving the marriage with Bothwell; after providing for the ſafety of the young Prince, and the ſecurity of the Proteſtant religion; they propoſed to re-eſtabliſh the Queen in the poſſeſſion of her legal authority. The ſucceſs with which their arms had been accompanied, inſpired others with bolder and more deſperate thoughts, and nothing leſs would ſatisfy them than the trial, the condemnation and puniſhment of the Queen herſelf, as the principal conſpirator againſt the life of her huſband and the ſafety of her ſon †: the former was Maitland's ſyſtem, and breathed too much of a pacific and moderate ſpirit, to be agreeable to the temper or wiſhes of the party. The latter was recommended by the clergy, and warmly adopted by many laics; but the nobles durſt not, or would not venture on ſuch an unprecedented and audacious deed ‡.

* See Appendix, N° XXII. † Keith, 420, 421, 422, 582.

‡ The intention of putting the Queen to death ſeems to have been carried on by ſome of her ſubjects: at this time we often find Elizabeth boaſting that Mary owed her life to her interpoſition. Digges's Compl. amb. 14, &c. See Appendix, N° XVIII.

BOOK V.

1567. They oblige the Queen to reſign the government.

BOTH parties agreed at laſt upon a ſcheme, neither ſo moderate as the one, nor ſo daring as the other. Mary was to be perſuaden or forced to reſign the Crown; the young Prince was to be proclaimed King, and the Earl of Murray was to be appointed to govern the kingdom during his minority, with the name and authority of Regent. With regard to the Queen's own perſon, nothing was determined. It ſeems to have been the intention of the confederates, to keep her in perpetual impriſonment; but in order to intimidate herſelf, and to overawe her partizans, they ſtill reſerved to themſelves the power of proceeding to more violent extremes.

IT was obvious to foreſee difficulties in the execution of this plan. Mary was young, ambitious, high-ſpirited, and accuſtomed to command. To induce her to acknowledge her own incapacity for governing, to renounce the dignity and power which ſhe was born to enjoy, to become dependant on her own ſubjects, to conſent to her own bondage, and to inveſt thoſe perſons, whom ſhe conſidered as the authors of all her calamities, with that honour and authority of which ſhe herſelf was ſtripped, were points hard to be gained. Theſe, however, the confederates attempted, and they did not want means to inſure ſucceſs. Mary had endured, for ſeveral weeks, all the hardſhips and terror of a priſon; no proſpect of liberty appeared; none of her ſubjects had either taken arms, or ſo much as ſolicited her relief *; no perſon in whom ſhe could confide was admitted into her preſence; even the Ambaſſadors of the French King and Queen of England were refuſed acceſs to her. In this ſolitary ſtate, without a counſellor or a friend, under the preſſure of diſtreſs, and the apprehenſion of danger, it was natural for a woman to hearken almoſt to any overtures. The confederates took

* Keith, 425.

advan-

advantage of her condition, and of her fears. They employed Lord Lindſay, the fierceſt zealot in the party, to communicate their ſcheme to the Queen, and to obtain her ſubſcription to thoſe papers which were neceſſary for rendering it effectual. He executed his commiſſion with harſhneſs and brutality. Certain death was before Mary's eyes, if ſhe refuſed to comply with his demands. At the ſame time, ſhe was informed by Sir Robert Melvil, in name of Athol, Maitland, and Kirkaldy, the perſons among the confederates who were moſt attentive to her intereſt, that a reſignation extorted by fear, and granted during her impriſonment, was void in law, and might be revoked ſo ſoon as ſhe recovered liberty. Throgmorton, by a note which he found means to convey to her, ſuggeſted the ſame thing *. Deference to their opinion, as well as concern for her own ſafety, obliged her to yield to every thing which was required, and to ſign all the papers which Lindſay preſented to her. By one of theſe, ſhe reſigned the Crown, renounced all ſhare in the government of the kingdom, and conſented to the coronation of the young King. By another, ſhe appointed the Earl of Murray Regent, and conferred upon him all the powers and privileges of that high office. By a third, ſhe ſubſtituted ſome other nobleman in Murray's place, if he ſhould refuſe the honour which was deſigned for him. Mary, when ſhe ſubſcribed theſe deeds, was bathed in tears; and while ſhe gave away, as it were with her own hands, the ſceptre which ſhe had ſwayed ſo long, ſhe felt a pang of grief and indignation, one of the ſevereſt, perhaps, which can touch the human heart †.

BOOK V. 1567.

July 24.

THE confederates endeavoured to give this reſignation all the weight and validity in their power, by proceeding without delay to

James VI. crowned, and Murray choſen Regent.

* Keith, 425. Note (*b*). Melv. 169. † Ibid. 430. Crawf. Mem. 38.

crown

Book V. 1567. crown the young Prince. The ceremony was performed at Stirling, on the 29th of July, with much ſolemnity, in preſence of all the nobles of the party, a conſiderable number of leſſer Barons, and a great aſſembly of the people. From that time, all public writs were iſſued, and the government carried on, in name of James VI *.

No revolution ſo great was ever effected with more eaſe, or by means ſo unequal to the end. In a warlike age, and in leſs time than two months, a part of the nobles, who neither poſſeſſed the chief power, nor the greateſt wealth in the nation, and who never brought 3000 men into the field, ſeized, impriſoned, and dethroned their Queen, and without ſhedding a ſingle drop of blood, ſet her ſon, an infant of a year old, on the throne.

Reaſonings of both parties.

During this rapid progreſs of the confederates, the eyes of all the nation were turned on them, with aſtoniſhment; and various and contradictory opinions were formed, concerning the extraordinary ſteps which they had taken.

Even under the ariſtocratical form of government, which prevails in Scotland, ſaid the favourers of the Queen, and notwithſtanding the exorbitant privileges of the nobles, the Prince poſſeſſes conſiderable power, and his perſon is treated with great veneration. No encroachments ſhould be made on the former, and no injury offered to the latter, but in caſes where the liberty and happineſs of the nation cannot be ſecured by any other means. Such caſes ſeldom exiſt, and it belongs not to any part, but to the whole, or at leaſt to a majority of the ſociety, to judge of their exiſtence. By what action could it be pretended, that Mary had invaded the rights

* Keith, 437.

or

or property of her ſubjects, or what ſcheme had ſhe formed againſt the liberty and conſtitution of the kingdom? Were fears, and ſuſpicions, and ſurmiſes, enough to juſtify the impriſoning, and the depoſing a Queen, to whom the Crown deſcended from ſo long a race of Monarchs? The principal author of whatever was reckoned culpable in her conduct, was now driven from her preſence. The murderers of the King might have been brought to condign puniſhment, the ſafety of the Prince have been ſecured, and the Proteſtant religion have been eſtabliſhed, without wreſting the ſceptre out of her hands, or condemning her to perpetual impriſonment. Whatever right a free Parliament might have had to proceed to ſuch a rigorous concluſion, or whatever name its determinations might have merited, a ſentence of this nature, paſſed by a few nobles, without acknowledging or conſulting the reſt of the nation, muſt be deemed a rebellion againſt the government, and a conſpiracy againſt the perſon of their Sovereign.

The partizans of the confederates reaſoned very differently. 'Tis evident, ſaid they, That Mary either previouſly gave conſent to the King's murder, or did afterwards approve of that horrid action. Her attachment to Bothwell, the power and honours with which ſhe loaded him, the manner in which ſhe ſuffered his trial to be carried on, and the indecent ſpeed with which ſhe married a man, ſtained with ſo many crimes, raiſe ſtrong ſuſpicions of the former, and put the latter beyond all doubt. To have ſuffered the ſupreme power to continue in the hands of an ambitious man, capable of the moſt atrocious and deſperate actions, would have been diſgraceful to the nation, diſhonourable to the Queen, and dangerous to the Prince. Recourſe was, therefore, had to arms. The Queen had been compelled to abandon a huſband, ſo unworthy of herſelf. But her affection toward him ſtill continuing unabated; her in-

Book V. 1567. dignation againſt the authors of this ſeparation being viſible, and often expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms; they, by reſtoring her to her ancient authority, would have armed her with power to deſtroy themſelves, have enabled her to recall Bothwell, and have afforded her an opportunity of purſuing ſchemes fatal to the nation, with greater eagerneſs, and with more ſucceſs. Nothing, therefore, remained, but by one bold action to deliver themſelves and their country from all future fears. The expedient they had choſen was no leſs reſpectful to the royal blood, than neceſſary for the public ſafety. While one Prince was ſet aſide as incapable of governing, the Crown was placed on his head, who was the undoubted repreſentative of their ancient Kings.

WHATEVER opinion poſterity may form on comparing the arguments of the two contending parties, whatever ſentiments we may entertain concerning the juſtice or neceſſity of that courſe which the confederates held, it cannot be denied that their conduct, ſo far as regarded themſelves, was extremely prudent. Other expedients, leſs rigorous towards Mary, might have been found for ſettling the nation; but, after the injuries they had already offered the Queen, there was none ſo effectual for ſecuring their own ſafety, or perpetuating their own power.

To a great part of the nation, the conduct of the confederates appeared not only wiſe, but juſt. The King's acceſſion to the throne was every-where proclaimed, and his authority ſubmitted to without oppoſition. And though ſeveral of the nobles were ſtill aſſembled at Hamilton, and ſeemed to be entering into ſome combination againſt his government, an aſſociation for ſupporting it was formed,

formed, and ſigned by ſo many perſons of power and influence throughout the nation, as entirely diſcouraged the attempt *. BOOK V. 1567.

THE return of the Earl of Murray, about this time, added ſtrength to the party, and gave it a regular and finiſhed form. Soon after the murder of the King, this nobleman had retired into France, upon what pretence hiſtorians do not mention. During his reſidence there, he had held a cloſe correſpondence with the chiefs of the confederacy, and, at their deſire, he now returned. He ſeemed, at firſt, unwilling to accept the office of Regent. This heſitation cannot be aſcribed to the ſcruples either of diffidence, or of duty. Murray wanted neither abilities to entitle him, nor ambition to aſpire to this high dignity. He had received the firſt accounts of his promotion with the utmoſt ſatisfaction; but by appearing to continue for ſome days in ſuſpence, he gained time to view with attention the ground on which he was to act; to ballance the ſtrength and reſources of the two contending factions, and to examine whether the foundation on which his future fame and ſucceſs muſt reſt, were ſound and firm. Murray aſſumes the government.

BEFORE he declared his final reſolution, he waited on Mary at Lochlevin. This viſit, to a ſiſter, and a Queen, in a priſon, from which he had neither any intention to relieve her, nor to mitigate the rigour of her confinement, may be mentioned among the circumſtances, which diſcover the great want of delicacy and refinement in that age. Murray, who was naturally rough and uncourtly in his manner †, expoſtulated ſo warmly with the Queen concerning her paſt conduct, and charged her faults ſo home upon her, that Mary, who had flattered herſelf with more gentle and brother-

* Anderſ. vol. ii. 231. † Keith, 96.

Book V. 1567. ly treatment from him, melted into tears, and abandoned herſelf entirely to deſpair *. This interview, from which Murray could reap no political advantage, and wherein he diſcovered a ſpirit ſo ſevere and unrelenting, may be reckoned among the moſt bitter circumſtances in Mary's life, and is certainly one of the moſt unjuſtifiable in his conduct.

Auguſt 22. Soon after his return from Lochlevin, Murray accepted the office of Regent, and began to act in that character without oppoſition.

Fate of Bothwell. Amidst ſo many great and unexpected events, the fate of Bothwell, the chief cauſe of them all, hath been almoſt forgotten. After his flight from the confederates, he lurked for ſome time among his vaſſals in the neighbourhood of Dunbar. But finding it impoſſible for him to make head, in that country, againſt his enemies, or even to ſecure himſelf from their purſuit, he fled for ſhelter to his kinſman the Biſhop of Murray; and when he, over-awed by the confederates, was obliged to abandon him, he retired to the Orkney iſles. Hunted from place to place, deſerted by his friends, and accompanied by a few retainers, as deſperate as himſelf, he ſuffered at once the miſeries of infamy, and of want. His indigence forced him upon a courſe which added to his infamy. He armed a few ſmall ſhips, which had accompanied him from Dunbar, and attacking every veſſel which fell in his way, endeavoured to procure ſubſiſtence for himſelf and followers by piracy. Kirkaldy and Murray of Tullibardin were ſent out againſt him by the confederates; and ſurpriſing him while he rode at anchor, ſcattered his ſmall fleet, took a part of it, and obliged him to fly with a ſingle ſhip towards Norway. On that coaſt he fell in with a veſſel richly laden, and immediately attacked it; the Norwegians ſailed with armed boats

* Keith, 445, 446.

to

to its aſſiſtance, and after a deſperate fight, Bothwell and all his crew were taken priſoners. His name and quality were both unknown, and he was treated at firſt with all the indignity and rigour, which the odious crime of piracy merited. His real character was ſoon diſcovered; and though it ſaved him from the infamous death to which his aſſociates were condemned, it could neither procure him liberty, nor mitigate the hardſhips of his impriſonment. He languiſhed ten years in this unhappy condition; melancholy and deſpair deprived him of reaſon, and at laſt he ended his days, unpitied by his countrymen, and unaſſiſted by ſtrangers *. Few men ever accompliſhed their ambitious projects by worſe means, or reaped from them leſs ſatisfaction. The early part of his life was reſtleſs and enterpriſing, full of danger and of viciſſitudes. His enjoyment of the grandeur, to which he attained by ſo many crimes, was extremely ſhort; imbittered by much anxiety, and diſquieted by many fears. In his latter years, he ſuffered the moſt intolerable calamities, to which the wretched are ſubject, and from which perſons who have moved in ſo high a ſphere are commonly exempted.

BOOK V. 1567.

THE good effects of Murray's acceſſion to the regency were quickly felt. The party forming for the Queen was weak, irreſolute, and diſunited; and no ſooner was the government of the kingdom in the hands of a man, ſo remarkable both for his abilities and popularity, than the nobles of whom it was compoſed loſt all hopes of gaining ground, and began to treat ſeparately with the Regent. So many of them were brought to acknowledge the King's authority, that ſcarce any appearance of oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed government was left in the kingdom. Had they adhered to the

Succeſs of the Regent's adminiſtration.

* Melv. 168.

Queen

Book V. 1567. Queen with any firmneſs, it is probable, from Elizabeth's diſpoſition at that time, that ſhe would have afforded them ſuch aſſiſtance as might have enabled them to face their enemies in the field. But there appeared ſo little vigour or harmony in their councils, that ſhe was diſcouraged from eſpouſing their cauſe; and the Regent taking advantage of their ſituation, obliged them to ſubmit to his government, without granting any terms, either to themſelves, or to the Queen *.

THE Regent was no leſs ſucceſsful in his attempt, to get into his hands the places of ſtrength in the kingdom. Balfour, the deputy-governor, ſurrendered the caſtle of Edinburgh; and as the reward of his treachery, in deſerting Bothwell his patron, obtained terms of great advantage to himſelf. The Governor of Dunbar, who diſcovered more fidelity, was ſoon forced to capitulate; ſome other ſmall forts ſurrendered without reſiſtance.

A Parliament. Decem. 15. THIS face of tranquillity in the nation encouraged the Regent to call a meeting of Parliament. Nothing was wanting to confirm the King's authority, and the proceedings of the confederates, except the approbation of this ſupreme court; and after the ſucceſs which had attended all their meaſures, there could be little doubt of obtaining it. The numbers that reſorted to an Aſſembly, which was called to deliberate on matters of ſo much importance were great. The meeting was opened with the utmoſt ſolemnity, and all its acts paſſed with much unanimity. Many, however, of the Lords who had diſcovered the warmeſt attachment to the Queen, were preſent. But they had made their peace with the Regent. Argyll, Huntly, and Herreis acknowledged, openly, in Parliament, that their beha-

* Keith, 447, 450, 463.

viour

viour towards the King had been undutiful and criminal *. Their compliance, in this manner, with the meaſures of the Regent's party, was either the condition on which they were admitted into favour, or intended as a proof of the ſincerity of their reconcilement. BOOK V. 1567.

THE Parliament granted every thing the confederates could demand, either for the ſafety of their own perſons, or the ſecurity of that form of government which they had eſtabliſhed in the kingdom. Mary's reſignation of the Crown was accepted, and declared to be valid. The King's authority, and Murray's election, were recognized, and confirmed. The impriſoning the Queen, and all the other proceedings of the confederates, were pronounced lawful. The letters which Mary had written to Bothwell were produced, and ſhe was declared to be acceſſory to the murder of the King †. At the ſame time, all the acts of Parliament 1560, in favour of the Proteſtant religion were publickly ratified; new ſtatutes to the ſame purpoſe were enacted. And nothing that could contribute to root out the remains of Popery, or to encourage the growth of the Reformation, was neglected. Confirms the proceedings of the confederates.

IT is obſervable, however, that the ſame parſimonious ſpirit prevailed in this Parliament, as in that of 1560. The Proteſtant clergy, notwithſtanding many diſcouragements, and their extreme poverty, had, for ſeven years, performed all religious offices in the kingdom. The expedients fallen upon for their ſubſiſtance had hitherto proved ineffectual, or were intended to be ſo. But, notwithſtanding their known indigence, and the warm remonſtrances of the Aſſembly of the church, which met this year, the Parlia-

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 153. See Append. N° XXIII.

† Good. vol. ii. 66. Anderſ. vol. ii. 206.

ment

Book V. 1567. ment did nothing more for their relief, than preſcribe ſome new regulations concerning the payment of the thirds of benefices, which did not produce any conſiderable change in the ſituation of the clergy.

1568. January 3. A FEW days after the diſſolution of Parliament, four of Bothwell's dependants were convicted of being guilty of the King's murder, and ſuffered death as traitors. Their confeſſions brought to light many circumſtances relative to the manner of committing that barbarous crime; but they were perſons of a low rank, and ſeem not to have been admitted into the ſecrets of the conſpiracy *.

NOTWITHSTANDING the univerſal ſubmiſſion to the Regent's authority, there ſtill abounded in the kingdom many ſecret murmurs and cabals. The partizans of the houſe of Hamilton reckoned Murray's promotion an injury to the Duke of Chatelherault, who, as firſt Prince of the blood, had, in their opinion, an undoubted right to be Regent. The length and rigour of Mary's ſufferings began to move many to commiſerate her caſe. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in religion dreaded the effects of Murray's zeal. And he, tho' his abilities were great, did not poſſeſs the talents requiſite for ſoothing the rage or removing the jealouſies of the different factions. By inſinuation, or addreſs, he might have gained or ſoftened many, who had oppoſed him; but he was a ſtranger to theſe gentle arts. His virtues were ſevere; and his deportment towards his equals, eſpecially after his elevation to the regency, diſtant and haughty. This behaviour offended ſome of the nobles, and alarmed others. The Queen's faction, which had been ſo eaſily diſperſed, began again to

* Anderſ. vol. ii. 165.

gather,

gether, and to unite, and was ſecretly favoured by ſome who had hitherto zealouſly concurred with the confederates *. BOOK V. 1568.

Mary eſcapes from Loch-levin.

SUCH was the favourable diſpoſition of the nation towards the Queen, when ſhe recovered her liberty, in a manner no leſs ſurpriſing to her friends, than unexpected by her enemies. Several attempts had been made to procure her an opportunity of eſcaping, which ſome unforeſeen accident, or the vigilance of her keepers, had hitherto diſappointed. At laſt, Mary employed all her art to gain George Douglas her keeper's brother, a youth of eighteen. As her manners were naturally affable and inſinuating, ſhe treated him with the moſt flattering diſtinction; ſhe even allowed him to entertain the moſt ambitious hopes, by letting fall ſome expreſſions, as if ſhe would chuſe him for her huſband †. At his age, and in ſuch circumſtances, it was impoſſible to reſiſt ſuch a temptation. He yielded, and drew others into the plot. On Sunday the 2d of May, while his brother ſat at ſupper, and the reſt of the family were retired to their devotions, one of his accomplices found means to ſteal the keys out of his brother's chamber, and opening the gates to the Queen and one of her maids, locked them behind her, and then threw the keys into the lake. Mary ran with precipitation to the boat which was prepared for her, and on reaching the ſhore, was received with the utmoſt joy, by Douglas, Lord Seaton, and Sir James Hamilton, who, with a few attendants, waited for her. She inſtantly mounted on horſeback, and rode full ſpeed towards Niddrie, Lord Seaton's ſeat in Weſt-Lothian. She arrived there that night, without being purſued, or interrupted. After halting three hours, ſhe ſet out for Hamilton; and travelling at the ſame pace, ſhe reached it next morning.

* Melv. 179. † Keith, 469.

Book V.

1568.

Arrives at Hamilton, and raiſes a numerous army.

On the firſt news of Mary's eſcape, her friends whom, in their preſent diſpoſition, a much ſmaller accident would have rouzed, ran to arms. In a few days, her court was filled with a great and ſplendid train of nobles, accompanied by ſuch numbers of followers, as formed an army above 6000 ſtrong. In their preſence, ſhe declared that the reſignation of the Crown, and other deeds ſhe had ſigned during her impriſonment, were extorted from her by fear. Sir Robert Melvil confirmed her declaration; and on that, as well as on other accounts, a council of the nobles and chief men of her party pronounced all theſe tranſactions void and illegal. At

May 8.

the ſame time, an aſſociation was formed for the defence of her perſon and authority, and ſubſcribed by nine Earls, nine Biſhops, eighteen Lords, and many gentlemen of diſtinction *. Among them, we find ſeveral who had been preſent in laſt Parliament, and who had ſigned the counter-aſſociation in defence of the King's government; but ſuch ſudden changes were then ſo common, as to be no matter of reproach.

Conſternation of the Regent's adherents.

At the time when the Queen made her eſcape, the Regent was at Glaſgow, holding a court of juſtice. An event ſo contrary to their expectations, and ſo fatal to their ſchemes, gave a great ſhock to his adherents. Many of them appeared wavering and irreſolute; others began to carry on private negociations with the Queen; and ſome openly revolted to her ſide. In ſo difficult a juncture, where his own fame, and the being of the party depended on his choice, the regent's moſt faithful aſſociates were divided in opinion. Some adviſed him to retire, without loſs of time, to Stirling. The Queen's army was already ſtrong, and only eight miles diſtant; the adjacent country was full of the friends and dependants of the houſe of Hamilton, and other Lords of the Queen's faction; Glaſgow was a large and unfortified town; his own train conſiſted of no greater

* Keith, 475.

number

number than was uſual in times of peace; all theſe reaſons pleaded for a retreat. But on the other hand, arguments were urged of no inconſiderable weight. The citizens of Glaſgow were well affected to the cauſe; the vaſſals of Glencairn, Lennox, and Semple lay near at hand, and were both numerous, and full of zeal; ſuccours might arrive from other parts of the kingdom in a few days; in war, ſucceſs depends upon reputation, as much as upon numbers; reputation is gained, or loſt, by the firſt ſtep one takes; in his circumſtances, a retreat would be attended with all the ignominy of a flight, and would at once diſpirit his friends, and inſpire his enemies with boldneſs. In ſuch dangerous exigencies as this, the ſuperiority of Murray's genius appeared, and enabled him both to chuſe with wiſdom, and to act with vigour. He declared againſt retreating, and fixed his head quarters at Glaſgow. And while he amuſed the Queen for ſome days, by pretending to hearken to ſome overtures, which ſhe made for accommodating their differences, he was employed, with the utmoſt induſtry, in drawing together his adherents, from different parts of the kingdom. He was ſoon in a condition to take the field; and though far inferior to the enemy in number, he confided ſo much in the valour of his troops, and the experience of his officers, that he broke off the negociation, and determined to hazard a battle *.

1568.

His prudent conduct.

AT the ſame time, the Queen's generals had commanded her army to move. Their intention was, to conduct her to Dunbarton caſtle, a place of great ſtrength, which the Regent had not been able to wreſt out of the hands of Lord Fleming the governor; but if the enemy ſhould endeavour to interrupt their march, they reſolved

May 13.

* Buchan. 369.

Book V. 1568. not to decline an engagement. In Mary's ſituation, no reſolution could be more imprudent. A part only of her forces was aſſembled. Huntly, Ogilvie, and the northern clans were ſoon expected; her ſufferings had removed, or diminiſhed the prejudices of many among her ſubjects; the addreſs with which ſhe ſurmounted the dangers that obſtructed her eſcape, dazzled and intereſted the people; the ſudden confluence of ſo many nobles added luſtre to her cauſe; ſhe might aſſuredly depend on the friendſhip and countenance of France; ſhe had reaſon to expect the protection of England; her enemies could not poſſibly look for ſupport from that quarter. She had much to hope from purſuing ſlow and cautious meaſures; they had every thing to fear.

But Mary, whoſe hopes were naturally ſanguine, and her paſſions impetuous, was ſo elevated by her ſudden tranſition from the depth of diſtreſs, to ſuch an unuſual appearance of proſperity, that ſhe never doubted of ſucceſs. Her army was almoſt double to the enemy in number, and conſiſted chiefly of the Hamiltons, and their dependants. The archbiſhop of St. Andrew's had the chief direction of theſe, and hoped, by a victory, not only to cruſh Murray, the ancient enemy of his houſe, but to get the perſon of the Queen into his hands, and to oblige her, either to marry one of the Duke's ſons, or at leaſt to commit the chief direction of her affairs to himſelf. His ambition proved fatal to the Queen, to himſelf, and to his family *.

Battle of Langſide. Mary's imprudence, in reſolving to fight, was not greater than the ill conduct of her generals in the battle. Between the

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 32. Melv. 181.

two

two armies, and on the road towards Dumbarton, there was an eminence called Langſide-Hill. This the Regent had the precaution to ſeize, and poſted his troops in a ſmall village, and among ſome gardens and incloſures adjacent. In this advantageous ſituation he waited the approach of the enemy, whoſe ſuperiority in cavalry could be of no benefit to them, on ſuch broken ground. The Hamiltons, who compoſed the vanguard, ran ſo eagerly to the attack, that they put themſelves out of breath, and left the main battle far behind. The encounter of the ſpearmen was fierce and deſperate; but as the forces of the Hamiltons were expoſed, on the one flank, to a continued fire from a body of muſqueteers, attacked on the other by the Regent's moſt choice troops, and not ſupported by the reſt of the Queen's army, they were ſoon obliged to give ground, and the rout immediately became univerſal. Few victories, in a civil war, and among a barbarous people, have been purſued with leſs violence, or attended with leſs bloodſhed. Three hundred fell in the field; in the flight ſcarce any were killed. The Regent and his principal officers rode about, beſeeching the ſoldiers to ſpare their countrymen. The number of priſoners was great, and among them many perſons of diſtinction. The Regent marched back to Glaſgow, and returned public thanks to God for this great, and, on his ſide, almoſt bloodleſs victory *.

The Queen's army defeated.

DURING the engagement, Mary ſtood on a hill, at no great diſtance, and beheld all that paſſed in the field, with ſuch emotions of mind as are not eaſily deſcribed. When ſhe ſaw the army, which was her laſt hope, thrown into irretrievable confuſion, her ſpirit, which all her paſt misfortunes had not been able entirely to ſubdue,

Her flight.

* Keith, 477.

ſunk

Book V. 1568. ſunk altogether. In the utmoſt conſternation, ſhe began her flight, and ſo lively were her impreſſions of fear, that ſhe never cloſed her eyes till ſhe reached the abbey of Dundrenan in Galloway, full ſixty Scotiſh miles from the place of battle *.

THESE revolutions in Mary's fortune had been no leſs rapid, than ſingular. In the ſhort ſpace of eleven days, ſhe had been a priſoner at the mercy of her moſt inveterate enemies; ſhe had ſeen a powerful army under her command, and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion; and now ſhe was obliged to fly, in the utmoſt danger of her life, and to lurk, with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom. She did not think herſelf ſafe, even in that retreat; and her fears impelled her to an action, the moſt unadviſed, as well as the moſt unfortunate in her whole life. This was her retiring into England, a ſtep, which, on many accounts, ought to have appeared to her raſh and dangerous.

Reſolves on retiring into England.

BEFORE Mary's arrival in Scotland, mutual diſtruſt and jealouſies had ariſen between her and Elizabeth. All their ſubſequent tranſactions had contributed to exaſperate and inflame theſe paſſions. She had endeavoured, by ſecret negociations and intrigues, to diſturb the tranquillity of Elizabeth's government, and to advance her own pretenſions to the Engliſh Crown. Elizabeth, who poſſeſſed greater power, and acted with leſs reſerve, had openly ſupported Mary's rebellious ſubjects, and fomented all the diſſenſions and troubles in which her reign had been involved. The maxims of policy ſtill authorized that Queen to purſue the ſame courſe; as by keeping Scotland in confuſion, ſhe effectually ſecured the peace of her own kingdom. The Regent, after his victory, had marched

* Keith, 481.

to

to Edinburgh, and not knowing what courſe the Queen had taken, it was ſeveral days before he thought of purſuing her *. She might have been concealed in that retired corner, among ſubjects devoted to her intereſt, till her party, which was diſperſed rather than broken by the late defeat, ſhould gather ſuch ſtrength, that ſhe could again appear with ſafety at their head. There was not any danger, which ſhe ought not to have run, rather than throw herſelf into the hands of an enemy, from whom ſhe had already ſuffered ſo many injuries, and who was prompted both by inclination, and by intereſt, to renew them. BOOK V. 1568.

BUT, on the other hand, during Mary's confinement, Elizabeth had declared againſt the proceedings of her ſubjects, and ſolicited for her liberty, with a warmth which had all the appearance of ſincerity. She had invited her to take refuge in England, and had promiſed to meet her in perſon, and to give her ſuch a reception as was due to a Queen, and an ally †. Whatever apprehenſion Elizabeth might entertain of Mary's deſigns, while ſhe had power in her hands, ſhe was, at preſent, the object, not of fear, but of pity; and to take advantage of her ſituation, would be both ungenerous and inhuman. The horrors of a priſon were freſh in Mary's memory, and if ſhe ſhould fall a ſecond time into the hands of her ſubjects, there was no injury to which the preſumption of ſucceſs might not embolden them to proceed. To attempt eſcaping into France, was dangerous; and, in her ſituation, almoſt impoſſible; nor could ſhe bear the thoughts of appearing as an exile, and a fugitive, in that kingdom, where ſhe had once enjoyed all the ſplendor of a Queen. England remained her only aſylum; and, in ſpite of the intreaties of Lord Herreis, Fleming, and her other at-

* Crawf. Mem. 59. † Camd. 489. Anderſ. vol. iv. 99. 120. Murdin, 369.

tendants,

BOOK V. 1568.

tendants, who conjured her, even on their knees, not to confide in Elizabeth's promiſes or generoſity, her infatuation was invincible, and ſhe reſolved to fly thither. Herreis, by her command, wrote to Lowther the deputy-governor of Carliſle, to know what reception he would give her; and, before his anſwer could return, her fear and impatience were ſo great, that ſhe got into a fiſher-boat, and with about twenty attendants, landed at Wirkington in Cumberland, and thence ſhe was conducted with many marks of reſpect to Carliſle *.

Her reception at Carliſle.

May 16.

Elizabeth deliberates concerning the manner of treating her.

So ſoon as Mary arrived in England, ſhe wrote a long letter to the Queen, repreſenting, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered from her own ſubjects, and imploring that pity and aſſiſtance which her preſent ſituation demanded †. An event ſo extraordinary, and the conduct which might be proper in conſequence of it, drew the attention, and employed the thoughts of Elizabeth and her council. If their deliberations had been influenced by conſiderations of juſtice or generoſity alone, they would not have found them long or intricate. A Queen, vanquiſhed by her own ſubjects, and threatened by them with the loſs of her liberty, or of her life, had fled from their violence, and thrown herſelf into the arms of her neareſt neighbour and ally, from whom ſhe had received repeated aſſurances of friendſhip and protection. Theſe circumſtances entitled her to reſpect and to compaſſion, and required that ſhe ſhould either be reſtored to her own kingdom, or at leaſt be left at full liberty to ſeek aid from any other quarter. But with Elizabeth and her counſellors, the queſtion was not, what was moſt juſt or generous, but what was moſt beneficial to herſelf, and to the Engliſh nation. Three different reſolutions might

* Keith, 483. Anderſ. vol. iv. 2. † Id. 29.

have

have been taken, with regard to the Queen of Scots. To re-inſtate her in her throne, was one; to allow her to retire into France, was another; to detain her in England, was a third. Each of theſe drew conſequences after it, of the utmoſt importance, which were examined, as appears from papers ſtill extant *, with that minute accuracy, which Elizabeth's Miniſters employed in all their conſultations upon affairs of moment. BOOK V. 1568.

To reſtore Mary to the full exerciſe of the royal authority in Scotland, they obſerved, would render her more powerful than ever. The nobles who were moſt firmly attached to the Engliſh intereſt, would quickly feel the utmoſt weight of her reſentment. And as the gratitude of Princes is ſeldom ſtrong or laſting, regard to her own intereſt might ſoon efface the memory of her obligations to Elizabeth, and prompt her to renew the alliance of the Scotiſh nation with France, and revive her own pretenſions to the Engliſh Crown. Nor was it poſſible to fetter and circumſcribe the Scotiſh Queen, by any conditions that would prevent theſe dangers. Her party in Scotland was numerous and powerful. Her return, even without any ſupport from England, would inſpire her friends with new zeal and courage; a ſingle victory might give them the ſuperiority, which they had loſt by a ſingle defeat, and render Mary a more formidable rival than ever to Elizabeth.

THE dangers ariſing from ſuffering Mary to retire into France, were no leſs obvious. The French King could not refuſe his aſſiſtance towards reſtoring his ſiſter and ally to her throne. Elizabeth would, once more, ſee a foreign army in the iſland, overawing the Scots, and ready to enter her kingdom; and if the com-

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 34, 99, 102.

Book V. 1568. motions in France, on account of religion, were ſettled, the Princes of Lorrain might reſume their ambitious projects, and the united forces of France and Scotland might invade England, where it is weakeſt and moſt defenceleſs.

Reſolves to detain her in England.

NOTHING therefore remained but to detain her in England; and to permit her either to live at liberty there, or to confine her in a priſon. The former was a dangerous experiment. Her court would become a place of reſort to all the Roman Catholics, to the diſaffected, and to the lovers of innovation. Though Elizabeth affected to repreſent Mary's pretenſions to the Engliſh Crown as altogether extravagant and ill-founded, ſhe was not ignorant that they did not appear in that light to the nation, and that many thought them preferable even to her own title. If the activity of her emiſſaries had gained her ſo many abettors, her own perſonal influence was much more to be dreaded; her beauty, her addreſs, her ſufferings, by the admiration and pity which they would excite, could not fail of making many converts to her party*.

'TWAS indeed to be apprehended, that the treating Mary as a priſoner would excite univerſal indignation againſt Elizabeth, and that by this unexampled ſeverity towards a Queen, who implored, and to whom ſhe had promiſed her protection, ſhe would forfeit the praiſe of juſtice and humanity, which was hitherto due to her adminiſtration. But the Engliſh Monarchs were often ſo ſolicitous to ſecure their kingdom againſt the Scots, as to be little ſcrupulous about the means which they employed for that purpoſe. Henry IV. had ſeized the heir of the Crown of Scotland, who was forced, by the

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 56, 60.

violence

violence of a ſtorm, to take refuge in one of the ports of his kingdom; and, in contempt of the rights of hoſpitality, without regarding his tender age, or the tears and intreaties of his father, detained him a priſoner for many years. This action, though deteſted by poſterity, Elizabeth reſolved now to imitate. Her virtue was no more proof than Henry's had been, againſt the temptations of intereſt; and the poſſeſſion of a preſent advantage was preferred to the proſpect of future fame. The ſatisfaction which ſhe felt in mortifying a rival, whoſe beauty and accompliſhments ſhe envied, had, perhaps, no leſs influence than political conſiderations, in bringing her to this reſolution. But, at the ſame time, in order to ſcreen herſelf from the cenſure which this conduct merited, and to make her treatment of the Scotiſh Queen look like the effect of neceſſity, rather than of choice, ſhe determined to put on the appearance of concern for her intereſt, and of deep ſympathy with her ſufferings.

Book V. 1568.

With this view, ſhe inſtantly diſpatched Lord Scroope warden of the weſt marches, and Sir Francis Knollys her Vice-chamberlain, to the Queen of Scots, with letters full of expreſſions of kindneſs and condolence. But, at the ſame time, they had private inſtructions to watch all her motions, and to take care that ſhe ſhould not eſcape into her own kingdom *. On their arrival, Mary demanded a perſonal interview with the Queen, that ſhe might lay before her the injuries which ſhe had ſuffered, and receive from her thoſe friendly offices which ſhe had been encouraged to expect. They anſwered, that it was with reluctance this honour was at preſent denied her; that while ſhe lay under the imputation of a crime ſo horrid, as the murder of her huſband, their Miſtreſs, to

May 20.

Mary demands admittance into Elizabeth's preſence.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 36, 70, 92.

Book V. 1568.

whom he was ſo nearly allied, could not, without bringing a ſtain upon her own reputation, admit her into her preſence;* but as ſoon as ſhe had cleared herſelf from that aſperſion, they promiſed her a reception ſuitable to her dignity, and aid proportioned to her diſtreſs *.

She offers to vindicate her conduct.

NOTHING could be more frivolous than this pretence. It was the occaſion, however, of leading the Queen of Scots into the ſnare, in which Elizabeth and her Miniſters wiſhed to intangle her. Mary expreſſed the utmoſt ſurprize at this unexpected manner of evading her requeſt; but as ſhe could not believe ſo many profeſſions of friendſhip to be void of ſincerity, ſhe frankly offered to ſubmit her cauſe to the cognizance of Elizabeth, and undertook to produce ſuch proofs of her own innocence, and of the falſhood of the accuſations brought againſt her, as ſhould fully remove the ſcruples, and ſatisfy the delicacy of the Engliſh Queen. This was the very point to which Elizabeth laboured to bring the matter. By this appeal of the Scotiſh Queen, ſhe became the umpire between her and her ſubjects, and had it entirely in her own power to protract the inquiry to any length, and to perplex and involve it in endleſs difficulties. In the mean time, ſhe was furniſhed with a plauſible pretence for keeping her at a diſtance from court, and for refuſing to contribute towards replacing her on her throne. As Mary's conduct had been extremely incautious, and the preſumptions of her guilt were many and ſtrong, it was poſſible her ſubjects might make good their charge againſt her; and if this ſhould be the reſult of the inquiry, ſhe would, thenceforth, ceaſe to be the object of regard, or of compaſſion, and the treating her with coldneſs and neglect would merit little cenſure.

Elizabeth takes advantage of this offer.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 8. 55.

In

In a matter ſo dark and myſterious, there was no probability that Mary could bring proofs of her innocence, ſo inconteſted, as to render the conduct of the Engliſh Queen altogether culpable. And perhaps, her impatience under reſtraint, her ſuſpicion of Elizabeth's partiality, or her diſcovery of her artifices, might engage her in ſuch cabals, as would juſtify the uſing her with greater rigour.

Elizabeth early foreſaw all thoſe advantages, which would ariſe from an inquiry into the conduct of the Scotiſh Queen, carried on under her direction. There was ſome danger, however, that Mary might diſcover her ſecret intentions too ſoon, and by receding from the offer which ſhe had made, endeavour to diſappoint them. But even in that event, ſhe determined not to drop the inquiry, and had thought of ſeveral different expedients for carrying it on. The Counteſs of Lennox, convinced that Mary was acceſſory to the murder of her ſon, and thirſting for that vengeance which it was natural for a mother to demand, had implored Elizabeth's juſtice, and ſolicited her, with many tears, in her own name, and in her huſband's, to bring the Scotiſh Queen to a trial for that crime *. The parents of the unhappy Prince had a juſt right to prefer this accuſation; nor could ſhe, who was their neareſt kinſwoman, be condemned for liſtening to ſo equitable a demand. Beſides, as the Scotiſh nobles openly accuſed Mary of the ſame crime, and pretended to be able to confirm their charge by ſufficient proof; it would be no difficult matter to prevail on them, to petition the Queen of England to take cognizance of their proceedings againſt their Sovereign; and it was the opinion of the Engliſh council, that it would be reaſonable to comply with the requeſt †. At the ſame

* Camd. 412. Haynes, 469. † Anderſ. vol. iv. 37.

time,

Book V. 1568. time, the obſolete claim of the ſuperiority of England over Scotland began to be talked of; and, on that account, it was pretended that the deciſion of the conteſt between Mary and her ſubjects belonged of right to Elizabeth. But though Elizabeth revolved all theſe expedients in her mind, and kept them in reſerve, to make uſe of as occaſion might require, ſhe wiſhed that the inquiry into Mary's conduct ſhould appear to be undertaken purely in compliance with her own demand, and in order to vindicate her innocence; and ſo long as that appearance could be preſerved, none of the other expedients were to be employed.

When Mary conſented to ſubmit her cauſe to Elizabeth, ſhe was far from ſuſpecting that any bad conſequences could follow, or that any dangerous pretenſions could be founded on her offer. She expected that Elizabeth herſelf would receive, and examine her defences *; ſhe meant to conſider her as an equal, for whoſe ſatisfaction ſhe was willing to explain any part of her conduct, that was liable to cenſure; not to acknowledge her as a ſuperior, before whom ſhe was bound to plead her cauſe. But Elizabeth put a very different ſenſe on Mary's offer. She conſidered herſelf as choſen to be judge in the controverſy between the Scotiſh Queen and her ſubjects, and began to act in that capacity. She propoſed to appoint commiſſioners to hear the pleadingsof both parties, and wrote to the Regent of Scotland, to impower proper perſons to appear before them, in his name, and to produce what he could alledge in vindication of his proceedings againſt his Sovereign.

Mary greatly offended at Elizabeth's conduct.

Mary had, hitherto, relied with unaccountable credulity on Elizabeth's profeſſions of regard, and expected that ſo many kind

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 10.

ſpeeches

ſpeeches would, at laſt, be accompanied with ſome ſuitable actions. But this propoſal entirely undeceived her. She plainly perceived the artifice of Elizabeth's conduct, and ſaw what a diminution it would be to her own honour, to appear on a level with her rebellious ſubjects, and to ſtand together with them at the bar of a ſuperior and a judge. She retracted the offer which ſhe had made, and which had been perverted to a purpoſe ſo contrary to her intention. She demanded, with more earneſtneſs than ever, to be admitted into Elizabeth's preſence; and wrote to her, in a ſtrain very different from what ſhe had formerly uſed, and which fully diſcovers the grief and indignation that preyed on her heart. "In "my preſent ſituation, ſays ſhe, I neither will, nor can reply to "the accuſations of my ſubjects. I am ready, of my own accord, "and out of friendſhip to you, to ſatisfy your ſcruples, and to "vindicate my own conduct. My ſubjects are not my equals; "nor will I, by ſubmitting my cauſe to a judicial trial, acknow-"ledge them to be ſo. I fled into your arms, as into thoſe of my "neareſt relation, and moſt perfect friend. I did you honour, "as I imagined, in chuſing you preferably to any other Prince, to "be the reſtorer of an injured Queen. Was it ever known that "a Prince was blamed for hearing, in perſon, the complaints of "thoſe who appealed to his juſtice, againſt the falſe accuſations of "their enemies? You admitted into your preſence my baſtard-"brother, who had been guilty of rebellion; and you deny me "that honour! God forbid that I ſhould be the occaſion of bring-"ing any ſtain upon your reputation. I expected that your manner "of treating me would have added luſtre to it. Suffer me either to "implore the aid of other Princes, whoſe delicacy on this head, "will be leſs, and their reſentment of my wrongs greater; or let "me receive from your hands that aſſiſtance, which it becomes you, "more

1568. June 30.

BOOK V. 1568. " more than any other Prince, to grant; and by that benefit, bind " me to yourſelf in the indiſſoluble ties of gratitude *."

June 20. Elizabeth's precautions againſt her.

THIS letter ſomewhat diſconcerted Elizabeth's plan, but did not divert her from the proſecution of it. She laid the matter before the Privy Council, and it was there determined, notwithſtanding the intreaties and remonſtrances of the Scotiſh Queen, to go on with the inquiry into her conduct, and till that were finiſhed, it was agreed that Elizabeth could not, conſiſtently with her own honour, or with the ſafety of her government, either give her the aſſiſtance which ſhe demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom. And leſt ſhe ſhould have an opportunity of eſcaping, while ſhe reſided ſo near Scotland, it was thought adviſeable to remove her to ſome place, at a greater diſtance from the borders †.

Proceedings of the Regent againſt the Queen's adherent.

WHILE the Engliſh court was occupied in theſe deliberations, the Regent did not neglect to improve the victory at Langſide. That event was of the utmoſt importance to him. It not only drove the Queen herſelf out of the kingdom, but left her adherents diſperſed, and without a leader, at his mercy. He ſeemed reſolved, at firſt, to proceed againſt them with the utmoſt rigour. Six perſons of ſome diſtinction, who had been taken priſoners in the battle, were tried, and condemned to death as rebels againſt the King's government. They were led to the place of execution, but by the powerful interceſſion of Knox they obtained a pardon. Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh was one of the number, who lived to give both the Regent and Knox reaſon to repent of this commendable act of lenity ‡.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 94. † Id. ibid. 102. ‡ Cald. vol. ii. 99.

SOON

Book V. 1568.

Soon after, the Regent marched with an army, conſiſting of 4000 horſe and 1000 foot, towards the weſt borders. The nobles in this part of the kingdom were all of the Queen's faction; but as they had not force ſufficient to obſtruct his progreſs, he muſt either have obliged them to ſubmit to the King, or would have laid waſte their lands with fire and ſword. But Elizabeth, whoſe intereſt it was to keep Scotland in confuſion, by preſerving the balance between the two parties, and who was endeavouring to ſooth the Scottiſh Queen by gentle treatment, interpoſed at her deſire. After keeping the field two weeks, the Regent, in compliance to the Engliſh Ambaſſador, diſmiſſed his forces; and an expedition, which might have proved fatal to his opponents, ended with a few acts of ſeverity *.

Mary carried to Bolton.

July 13.

The reſolution of the Engliſh Privy Council with regard to Mary's perſon, was ſoon carried into execution; and, without regarding her remonſtrances or complaints, ſhe was conducted to Bolton, a caſtle of Lord Scroop's, on the borders of Yorkſhire †. In this place, her correſpondence with her friends in Scotland became more difficult, and any proſpect of making her eſcape was entirely cut off. She now felt herſelf to be entirely in Elizabeth's power, and though treated as yet with the reſpect due to a Queen, her real condition was that of a priſoner. Mary knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded it as the worſt of all evils. While the remembrance of her late impriſonment was ſtill lively, and the terror of a new one filled her mind, Elizabeth thought it a proper juncture to renew her former propoſition, that ſhe would ſuffer the Regent and his adherents to be called into England, and conſent to their being heard in de-

July 28.

* Cald. vol. ii. 99. † Anderſ. vol. iv. 14.

Book V. 1568.

fence of their own conduct. And on her part, ſhe promiſed, whatever ſhould be the iſſue of this inquiry, to employ all her power and influence towards replacing Mary on her throne, under a few limitations, which were far from being unreaſonable. Fear, impatience, deſpair, as well as this ſoothing promiſe, with which the propoſition was accompanied, induced the Scottiſh Queen to comply *.

Agrees that an inquiry be made into her conduct.

Her diſſimulation with regard to religion.

In order to perſuade Elizabeth that ſhe deſired nothing ſo much as to render the union between them as cloſe as poſſible, ſhe ſhewed a diſpoſition to relax ſomewhat in one point, with regard to which, during all her paſt and ſubſequent misfortunes, ſhe was uniformly inflexible. She expreſſed a great veneration for the liturgy of the church of England; ſhe was often preſent at religious worſhip, according to the rites of the reformed church; made choice of a Proteſtant clergyman to be her chaplain; heard him preach againſt the errors of Popery with attention and ſeeming pleaſure; and diſcovered all the ſymptoms of an approaching converſion †. Such was Mary's known and bigotted attachment to the Popiſh religion, that it is impoſſible to believe her ſincere in this part of her conduct; nor can any thing mark more ſtrongly the wretchedneſs of her condition, and the exceſs of her fears, than that they betrayed her into diſſimulation in a matter, concerning which her ſentiments were, at all other times, ſcrupulouſly delicate.

Auguſt 18. A Parliament in Scotland.

At this time the Regent called a Parliament, in order to proceed to the forfeiture of thoſe who refuſed to acknowledge the King's authority. The Queen's faction was alarmed, and Argyll and Huntly, whom Mary had appointed her lieutenants, the one

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 109. Haynes, 468. † Anderſ. vol. iv. 113. Haynes, 509.

in

in the ſouth, and the other in the north of Scotland, began to aſ- Book V.
ſemble forces to obſtruct this meeting. Compaſſion for the Queen, 1568.
and envy at thoſe who governed in the King's name, had added ſo much ſtrength to the party, that the Regent would have found it difficult to withſtand its efforts. But as Mary had ſubmitted her cauſe to Elizabeth, ſhe could not refuſe, at her deſire, to command her friends to lay down their arms, and to wait patiently till matters were brought to a deciſion in England. By procuring this ceſſation of arms, Elizabeth afforded as ſeaſonable relief to the Regent's faction, as ſhe had formerly given to the Queen's *.

The Regent, however, would not conſent, even at Elizabeth's requeſt, to put off the meeting of Parliament. But we may aſcribe to her influence, as well as to the eloquence of Maitland, who laboured to prevent the one half of his countrymen from exterminating the other, any appearances of moderation which this Parliament diſcovered in its proceedings. The moſt violent opponents of the King's government were forfeited; the reſt were allowed ſtill to hope for favour †.

No ſooner did the Queen of Scots ſubmit her cauſe to her rival, than Elizabeth required the Regent to ſend to York, deputies properly inſtructed for vindicating his conduct, in preſence of her commiſſioners. It was not without heſitation and anxiety, that the Regent conſented to this meaſure. His authority was already eſtabliſhed in Scotland, and confirmed by Parliament. To ſuffer its validity now to be called in queſtion, and ſubjected to a foreign juriſdiction, was extremely mortifying. To accuſe his Sovereign be-

Elizabeth requires the Regent to defend his conduct.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 125. † Buch. 371.

Book V. 1568. fore ſtrangers, the ancient enemies of the Scottiſh name, was an odious taſk. To fail in this accuſation was dangerous; to ſucceed in it was diſgraceful. But the ſtrength of the adverſe faction daily increaſed. He dreaded the interpoſition of the French King in its behalf. In his ſituation, and in a matter which Elizabeth had ſo much at heart, her commands were neither to be diſputed, nor diſobeyed *.

Both the Queen and he appoint commiſſioners.

THE neceſſity of repairing in perſon to York added to the ignominy of the ſtep which he was obliged to take. All his aſſociates declined the office; they were unwilling, it would ſeem, to expoſe themſelves to the odium and danger with which it was eaſy to foreſee that the diſcharge of it would be attended, unleſs he himſelf conſented to ſhare theſe in common with them. The Earl of Morton, Bothwell Biſhop of Orkney, Pitcairn Commendator of Dunfermling, and Lord Lindſay were joined with him in commiſſion. Macgill of Rankeilor and Balnaves of Halhill, two eminent Civilians, George Buchanan his faithful adherent, a man whoſe genius did honour to the age, Maitland, and ſeveral others, were appointed to attend them as aſſiſtants. Maitland owed this diſtinction to the Regent's fear, rather than to his affection. He had warmly remonſtrated againſt this meaſure. He wiſhed his country to continue in friendſhip with England, but not to become dependant on that nation. He was deſirous of re-eſtabliſhing the Queen in ſome degree of power, not inconſiſtent with that which the King poſſeſſed; and the Regent could not, with ſafety, leave behind him a man, whoſe views were ſo contrary to his own, and who, by his ſuperior abilities, had acquired an influence in the nation, equal to that, which others derived from the antiquity and power of their families †.

Septem. 18.

* Buch. 372. See Append. N°. XXV.

† Id. ibid. Anderſ. vol. iv. 35. Melv. 186, 188.

MARY

MARY impowered Leſly Biſhop of Roſs, Lord Livingſton, Lord Boyd, Lord Herreis, Gavin Hamilton Commendator of Kilwinning, Sir John Gordon of Lochinvar, and Sir James Cockburn of Skirling, to appear in her name *. BOOK V. 1568.

ELIZABETH nominated Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk, Thomas Ratcliff Earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, her Commiſſioners to hear both parties.

THE fourth of October was the day fixed for opening the *Conference*. The great abilities of the deputies on both ſides, the dignity of the judges before whom they were to appear, the high rank of the perſons whoſe cauſe was to be heard, and the importance of the points in diſpute, rendered the whole tranſaction no leſs illuſtrious, than it was ſingular. The ſituation in which Elizabeth appeared, on this occaſion, ſtrikes us with an air of magnificence. Her rival, an independant Queen, and the heir of an ancient race of monarchs, was a priſoner in her hands, and appeared, by her ambaſſadors, before her tribunal. The Regent of Scotland, who repreſented the majeſty, and poſſeſſed the authority of a King, ſtood in perſon at her bar. And the fate of a kingdom, whoſe power her anceſtors had often dreaded, but could never ſubdue, was now abſolutely at her diſpoſal. The conference at York.

THE views, however, with which the ſeveral parties conſented to this conference, and the iſſue to which they expected to bring it, were extremely different. Views of the different parties.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 33. † Id. 3.

MARY'S

BOOK V. 1568.

MARY's chief object was the recovering her former authority. This induced her to conſent to a meaſure, againſt which ſhe had long ſtruggled. Elizabeth's promiſes gave her ground for entertaining hopes of being reſtored to her kingdom; in order to which, ſhe would have, willingly, made many conceſſions to the King's party; and the influence of the Engliſh Queen, and her own impatience under her preſent ſituation, might have led her to many more *. The Regent aimed at nothing but ſecuring Elizabeth's protection to his party, and ſeems not to have had the moſt diſtant thoughts of coming to any compoſition with Mary. Elizabeth's views were more various, and her ſchemes more intricate. She ſeemed to be full of concern for Mary's honour, and ſolicitous that ſhe ſhould wipe off the aſperſions which blemiſhed her character. This ſhe pretended to be the intention of the conference; amuſing Mary, and eluding the ſolicitations of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors in her behalf by repeated promiſes of aſſiſting her, as ſoon as ſhe could venture to do ſo, without bringing diſgrace on herſelf. But, under this veil of friendſhip and generoſity, Elizabeth concealed ſentiments of a different nature. She expected that the Regent would accuſe Mary of being acceſſory to the murder of her huſband. She encouraged him, as far as decency would permit, to take this deſperate ſtep †. And as this accuſation might terminate two different ways, ſhe had concerted meaſures for her future conduct ſuitable to each of theſe. If the charge againſt Mary ſhould appear to be well founded, ſhe reſolved to pronounce her unworthy of wearing a Crown, and to declare that ſhe would never burthen her own conſcience with the guilt of an action ſo deteſtable, as the reſtoring her to her kingdom ‡. If it ſhould happen, that what her

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 33. Good. vol. ii. 337. † Anderſ. vol. iv. 11, 45. Haynes, 487. ‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 11.

accuſers

accuſers alledged, did not amount to a proof of guilt, but only of mal-adminiſtration, ſhe determined to ſet on foot a treaty for reſtoring her, but on ſuch conditions, as would render her for ever dependant on England, and the ſlave of her own ſubjects *. And as every ſtep in the progreſs of the conference, as well as the final reſult of it, was in her own power, ſhe would ſtill be at liberty to chuſe which of theſe courſes ſhe would hold; or if there appeared to be any danger or inconveniency in purſuing either of them, ſhe might protract the whole cauſe by endleſs delays, and involve it in inextricable perplexity. BOOK V. 1568.

THE conference, however, was opened with much ſolemnity. But the very firſt ſtep diſcovered it to be Elizabeth's intention to inflame, rather than to extinguiſh the diſſenſions and animoſities among the Scots. No endeavours were uſed to reconcile the contending parties, or to mollify the fierceneſs of their hatred, by bringing the Queen to offer pardon for what was paſt, or her ſubjects to promiſe more dutiful obedience for the future. On the contrary, Mary's commiſſioners were permitted to prefer a complaint againſt the Regent and his party, containing an enumeration of their treaſonable actions, of their ſeizing her perſon by force of arms, committing her to priſon, compelling her to reſign the Crown, and making uſe of her ſon's name to colour their uſurpation of the whole royal authority. And of all theſe enormities, they required ſuch ſpeedy and effectual redreſs, as the injuries of one Queen demanded from the juſtice of another †. Complaint of the Queen's commiſſioners againſt the Regent. October 8.

IT was then expected that the Regent would have diſcloſed the whole circumſtances of that unnatural crime, to which he pre-

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 16. † Id. ibid. 52.

tended

Book V. 1568. pretended the Queen had been acceſſory, and would have produced evidence in ſupport of his charge. But far from accuſing Mary, the Regent did not even anſwer the complaints brought againſt himſelf. He diſcovered a reluctance at the undertaking that office, and ſtarted many doubts and ſcruples, with regard to which, he demanded to be reſolved by Elizabeth herſelf *. His reſerve and heſitation were no leſs ſurpriſing to the greater part of the Engliſh commiſſioners than to his own aſſociates. They knew that he could not vindicate his conduct without charging the murder upon the Queen, and he had not hitherto ſhown any extraordinary delicacy on that head. An intrigue had been ſecretly carried on, ſince his arrival at York, which explains this myſtery.

Intrigues of Norfolk with the Regent.

The Duke of Norfolk was, at that time, the moſt powerful and moſt popular man in England. His wife was lately dead; and he began already to form a project, which he afterwards more openly avowed, of mounting the throne of Scotland, by a marriage with the Queen of Scots. He ſaw the infamy which would be the conſequence of a public accuſation againſt Mary, and how prejudicial it might be to her pretenſions to the Engliſh ſucceſſion. In order to ſave her this cruel mortification, he applied to Maitland, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment at ſeeing a man of ſo much reputation for wiſdom, concurring with the Regent in a meaſure ſo diſhonourable to themſelves, to their Queen, and to their country; ſubmitting the public tranſactions of the nation to the judgment of foreigners; and publiſhing the ignominy, and expoſing the faults of their Sovereign, which they were bound, in good policy, as well as in duty, to conceal and to cover. It was eaſy for Maitland, whoſe ſentiments were the ſame with the Duke's, to vindicate his own conduct. He aſſured

* Haynes, 478.

him,

him, that he had employed all his credit, to diſſwade his countrymen from this meaſure; and would ſtill contribute, to the utmoſt of his power, to divert them from it. This encouraged Norfolk to communicate the matter to the Regent. He repeated and enforced the ſame arguments which he had uſed with Maitland. He warned him of the danger to which he muſt expoſe himſelf, by ſuch a violent action, as the public accuſation of his Sovereign. Mary would never forgive a man, who had endeavoured to fix ſuch a brand of infamy on her character. If ſhe ever recovered any degree of power, his deſtruction would be inevitable, and he would juſtly merit it at her hands. Nor would Elizabeth ſcreen him from this, by a public approbation of his conduct. For whatever evidence of Mary's guilt he might produce, ſhe was reſolved to give no definitive ſentence in the cauſe. Let him only demand that the matter ſhould be brought to deciſion, immediately after hearing the proof, and he would be fully convinced how falſe and inſidious her intentions were, and, by conſequence, how improper it would be for him to appear as the accuſer of his own Sovereign *. The candour which Norfolk ſeemed to diſcover in theſe remonſtrances, as well as the truth which they contained, made a deep impreſſion on the Regent. He daily received the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of Mary's willingneſs to be reconciled to him, if he abſtained from accuſing her of ſuch an odious crime, together with denounciations of her irreconcileable hatred, if he acted a contrary part †. All theſe conſiderations concurred in determining him to alter his purpoſe, and to make trial of the expedient which the Duke had ſuggeſted.

HE demanded, therefore, to be informed, before he proceeded far- October 9.
ther, whether the Engliſh commiſſioners were impowered to declare

* Melv. 187. Haynes, 573. † Anderſ. vol. iv. 77. Good. vol. ii. 157.
See Appendix, N° XXVI.

Book V. 1568. the Queen guilty, by a judicial act; whether they would promiſe to paſs ſentence, without delay; whether the Queen ſhould be kept under ſuch reſtraint, as to prevent her from diſturbing the government now eſtabliſhed in Scotland; and whether Elizabeth, if ſhe approved of the proceedings of the King's party, would engage to protect it for the future *. The paper containing theſe demands was ſigned by himſelf alone, without communicating it to any of his attendants, except Maitland and Melvil †. Nothing could appear more natural than the Regent's ſolicitude, to known on what footing he ſtood. To have ventured on a ſtep ſo uncommon and dangerous, as the accuſing his Sovereign, without previouſly aſcertaining that he might take it with ſafety, would have been unpardonable imprudence. But Elizabeth, who did not expect that he would have moved any ſuch difficulty, had not impowered her commiſſioners to give him that ſatisfaction which he demanded. It became neceſſary to tranſmit the articles to herſelf, and by the light in which Norfolk placed them, it is eaſy to ſee that he wiſhed that they ſhould make no ſlight impreſſion on Elizabeth and her Miniſters. "Think not the Scots, ſaid he, over-ſcrupulous or preciſe. "Let us view their conduct, as we would wiſh our own to be viewed, in a like ſituation. The game they play is deep; their eſtates, "their lives, their honour are at ſtake. It is now in their own "power to be reconciled to their Queen, or to offend her irrecoverably, and in a matter of ſo much importance, the utmoſt degree of caution is not exceſſive ‡."

While the Engliſh commiſſioners waited for fuller inſtructions with regard to the Regent's demands, he gave in an anſwer to the complaint, which had been offered in name of the Scottiſh

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 55. † Id. 56. Melv. 190. ‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 77.

Queen.

Queen. It was expreſſed in terms perfectly conformable to the ſyſ- BOOK V.
tem which he had at that time adopted. It contained no inſinua- 1568.
tion of the Queen's being acceſſory to the murder of her huſband; the bitterneſs of ſtile peculiar to the age was conſiderably abated; and though he pleaded, that the infamy of the marriage with Bothwell, made it neceſſary to take arms in order to diſſolve it; though Mary's attachment to a man ſo odious juſtified the keeping her for ſome time under reſtraint; yet nothing more was ſaid on theſe ſubjects than was barely requiſite in his own defence. The Queen's commiſſioners did not fail to reply *. But while the ar- October 17.
ticle with regard to the murder remained untouched, theſe were only ſkirmiſhes at a diſtance, of no conſequence towards ending the conteſt, and were little regarded by Elizabeth or her commiſſioners.

THE conference had, hitherto, been conducted in a manner which diſappointed Elizabeth's views, and produced none of theſe diſcoveries which ſhe had expected. The diſtance between York and London, and the neceſſity of conſulting her upon every difficulty which occurred, conſumed much time. Norfolk's negociation with the Scottiſh Regent, however ſecretly carried on, was not, in all probability, unknown to a Princeſs ſo remarkable for her ſagacity in penetrating the deſigns of her enemies, and ſeeing through their deepeſt ſchemes †. Inſtead, therefore, of returning any anſwer to the Regent's demands, ſhe reſolved to remove the conference to Weſtminſter, and to appoint new commiſſioners, in whom ſhe could more abſolutely confide. Both the Scottiſh Queen and the Regent were brought, without difficulty, to approve of this reſolution ‡. The conference removed to Weſtminſter.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 64, 80. † Good. vol. ii. 160. And. vol. iii. 24.
‡ Haynes, 484. Anderſ. vol. iv. 94.

Book V. 1568.

We often find Mary boaſting of the ſuperiority of her commiſſioners during the conference at York, and how, by the ſtrength of their arguments, they confounded her adverſaries, and ſilenced all their cavils *. The diſpute ſtood, at that time, on a footing, which rendered her victory not only apparent, but eaſy. Her participation of the guilt of the King's murder was the only circumſtance, which could juſtify the violent proceedings of her ſubjects. And while they induſtriouſly avoided mentioning that, her cauſe gained as much as that of her adverſaries by ſuppreſſing this capital argument.

Elizabeth reſolved that Mary ſhould not enjoy the ſame advantage in the conference to be held at Weſtminſter. She deliberated with the utmoſt anxiety, how ſhe might overcome the Regent's ſcruples, and perſuade him to accuſe the Queen. She conſidered of the moſt proper method for bringing Mary's commiſſioners to anſwer ſuch an accuſation; and as ſhe foreſaw that the promiſes with which it was neceſſary to allure the Regent, and which it was impoſſible to conceal from the Scottiſh Queen, would naturally exaſperate her to a great degree, ſhe determined to guard her more narrowly than ever; and though Lord Scroop had given her no reaſon to diſtruſt his vigilance or fidelity, yet becauſe he was the Duke of Norfolk's brother-in-law, ſhe thought it proper to remove the Queen as ſoon as poſſible to Tuthbury in Staffordſhire, and commit her to the keeping of the Earl of Shrewſbury, to whom that caſtle belonged †.

Mary's ſuſpicions of Elizabeth's intentions: October 21.

Mary began to ſuſpect the deſign of this ſecond conference; and notwithſtanding the ſatisfaction ſhe expreſſed at ſeeing her cauſe taken more immediately under the Queen's own eye ‡, ſhe framed

* Good. vol. ii. 186, 284, 350. † Haynes, 487. ‡ Anderſ. vol. iv. 95.

her

1568.

her inſtructions to her commiſſioners, in ſuch a manner, as to avoid being brought under the neceſſity of anſwering the accuſation of her ſubjects, if they ſhould be ſo deſperate as to exhibit one againſt her *. Theſe ſuſpicions were ſoon confirmed by a circumſtance extremely mortifying. The Regent having arrived at London, in order to be preſent at the conference, was immediately admitted into Elizabeth's preſence, and received by her, not only with reſpect, but with affection. This Mary juſtly conſidered as an open declaration of that Queen's partiality towards her adverſaries. In the firſt emotions of her reſentment, ſhe wrote to her commiſſioners, and commanded them to complain, in the preſence of the Engliſh nobles, and before the ambaſſadors of foreign Princes, of the uſage ſhe had hitherto met with, and the additional injuries which ſhe had reaſon to apprehend. Her rebellious ſubjects were allowed acceſs to the Queen, ſhe was excluded from her preſence; they enjoyed full liberty, ſhe languiſhed under a long impriſonment; they were encouraged to accuſe her, in defending herſelf ſhe laboured under every diſadvantage. For theſe reaſons ſhe once more renewed her demand, of being admitted into the Queen's preſence; and if that were denied, ſhe inſtructed them to declare, that ſhe recalled the conſent ſhe had given to the conference at Weſtminſter, and proteſted, that whatever was done there, ſhould be held to be null and invalid †.

Novem. 22. Claims a perſonal audience of Elizabeth.

THIS, perhaps, was the moſt prudent reſolution Mary could have taken. The pretences on which ſhe declined the conference were plauſible, and the juncture for offering them well choſen. But either the Queen's letter did not reach her commiſſioners in due time, or they ſuffered themſelves to be deceived by Elizabeth's

* Good. vol. ii. 349. † Id. ibid. 184.

pro-

Book V. 1568. professions of regard for their Mistress, and consented to the opening of the conference *.

Novem. 25. To the commissioners who had appeared in her name at York, Elizabeth now added Sir Nicholas Bacon keeper of the Great Seal, the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, and Sir William Cecil †. The difficulties which obstructed the proceedings at York were quickly removed. A satisfying answer was given to the Regent's demands; nor was he so much disposed to hesitate, and raise objections as formerly. His negociation with Norfolk had been discovered to Morton by some of Mary's attendants, and he had communicated it to Cecil ‡. His personal safety, as well as the continuance of his power, depended on Elizabeth. By favouring Mary, she might, at any time, ruin him, and by a question which she artfully started, concerning the person who had a right, by the law of Scotland, to govern the kingdom during a minority, she let him see, that even without restoring the Queen, it was an easy matter for her to deprive him of the supreme direction of affairs ‖. These considerations, which were powerfully seconded by most of his attendants, at length determined the Regent to produce his accusation against the Queen.

The Regent accuses the Queen of being accessory to her husband's murder.

He endeavoured to lessen the infamy, with which he was sensible this action would be attended, by protesting, that it was with the utmost reluctance he undertook this disagreeable task; that his party had long suffered their conduct to be misconstrued, and had borne the worst imputations in silence, rather than expose the crimes of their Sovereign to the eyes of strangers; but that now the insolence and importunity of the adverse faction forced them

* Anders. vol. iii. 25. † Id. vol. iv. 99. ‡ Melv. 191. ‖ Haynes, 484.

to

to publiſh, what they had hitherto, though with loſs to themſelves, endeavoured to conceal *. Theſe pretexts are decent; and had the party diſcovered any delicacy or reſerve, with regard to the Queen's actions, in the reſt of their conduct, might have paſſed for the real principles by which they were influenced. But their former treatment of the Queen renders it impoſſible to give any credit to theſe profeſſions. And the Regent, it is plain, was drawn by the neceſſity of his affairs, and Elizabeth's artifices, into a ſituation, where no liberty of choice was left him; and was obliged either to acknowledge himſelf to be guilty of rebellion, or to charge Mary with having committed murder. 1568.

THE accuſation itſelf was conceived in the ſtrongeſt terms. Mary was charged, not only with having conſented to the murder, but with being acceſſory to the contrivance and execution of it. Bothwell, it was pretended, had been ſcreened from the purſuits of juſtice by her favour; and ſhe had formed deſigns no leſs dangerous to the life of the young Prince, than ſubverſive of the liberties and conſtitution of the kingdom. If any of theſe crimes ſhould be denied, an offer was made, to produce the moſt ample and undoubted evidence in confirmation of the charge †.

AT the next meeting of the commiſſioners, the Earl of Lennox appeared before them; and after bewailing the tragical and unnatural murder of his ſon, he implored Elizabeth's juſtice againſt the Queen of Scots, whom he accuſed, upon oath, of being the author of that crime, and produced papers, which, as he pretended, would make good what he alledged. The entrance of a new actor on the ſtage, ſo opportunely, and at a juncture ſo critical can Novem. 29.

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 115. † Id. ibid. 119.

ſcarce

Book V. 1568. ſcarce be imputed to chance. This contrivance was manifeſtly Elizabeth's, in order to encreaſe, by this additional accuſation, the infamy of the Scottiſh Queen *.

Her commiſſioners refuſe to anſwer. Decem. 4.

MARY's commiſſioners expreſſed the utmoſt ſurprize and indignation at the Regent's preſumption, in loading the Queen with calumnies, which, as they affirmed, ſhe had ſo little merited. But, inſtead of attempting to vindicate her honour, by a reply to the charge, they had recourſe to an article in their inſtructions, which they had formerly neglected to mention in its proper place. They demanded an audience of Elizabeth; and having renewed their Miſtreſs's requeſt, of a perſonal interview, they proteſted, if that were denied her, againſt all the future proceedings of the commiſſioners †. A proteſtation of this nature, offered juſt at the critical time, when ſuch a bold accuſation had been preferred againſt Mary, and when the proofs in ſupport of it were ready to be examined, gave reaſon to ſuſpect that ſhe dreaded the event of that examination. This ſuſpicion received the ſtrongeſt confirmation from another circumſtance; Roſs and Herreis, before they were introduced to Elizabeth, in order to make this proteſtation, privately acquainted Leiceſter and Cecil, that as their Miſtreſs had, from the beginning, diſcovered an inclination towards bringing the differences between herſelf and her ſubjects to an amicable accommodation, ſo ſhe was ſtill deſirous, notwithſtanding the Regent's audacious accuſation, that they ſhould be terminated in that manner ‡.

SUCH moderation is ſcarce compatible with the ſtrong reſentment, which callumniated innocence naturally feels; or with that eagerneſs to vindicate itſelf, which it always diſcovers. In Mary's

* Anderſon, vol. iv. 122. † Id. 133, 158. ‡ Ibid. iv. 134. Cabbala, 157.

ſituation,

situation, an offer ſo ill-timed muſt be conſidered as a confeſſion of the weakneſs of her cauſe. The known character of her commiſſioners exempts them from the imputation of folly, or the ſuſpicion of treachery. Some ſecret conviction, that the conduct of their Miſtreſs could not bear ſo ſtrict a ſcrutiny, ſeems to be the moſt probable motive of this imprudent propoſal, by which they endeavoured to avoid it.

IT appeared in this light to Elizabeth, and afforded her a pretence for rejecting it. She told Mary's commiſſioners, that, in the preſent juncture, nothing could be ſo diſhonourable to their Miſtreſs, as an accommodation; and that the matter would ſeem to be huddled up in this manner, merely to ſuppreſs diſcoveries, and to hide her ſhame; nor was it poſſible that ſhe could be admitted, with any decency, into her preſence, while ſhe lay under the infamy of ſuch a public accuſation. Decem. 4.

UPON this repulſe, Mary's commiſſioners withdrew; and as they had declined anſwering, there ſeemed now to be no further reaſon for the Regent's producing the proofs in ſupport of his charge. But without getting theſe into her hands, Elizabeth's ſchemes were incompleat. And her artifice for this purpoſe was as mean, but as ſucceſsful as any ſhe had hitherto employed. She commanded her commiſſioners to teſtify her indignation and diſpleaſure at the Regent's preſumption, in forgetting ſo far the duty of a ſubject, as to accuſe his Sovereign of ſuch atrocious crimes. He, in order to regain the good opinion of ſuch a powerful protectreſs, offered to ſhew that his accuſations were not malicious, nor ill-grounded. Then were produced, and delivered to the Engliſh commiſſioners, the acts of the Scottiſh Parliament in confirmation of the Regent's

Book V. 1568. authority, and of the Queen's reſignation; the confeſſions of the perſons executed for the King's murder; and the fatal caſket which contained the letters, ſonnets, and contracts, that have been already mentioned.

Elizabeth treats Mary with greater rigour.

ELIZABETH having got theſe into her poſſeſſion, began to lay aſide the expreſſions of friendſhip and reſpect which ſhe had hitherto uſed in all her letters to the Scottiſh Queen. She now wrote to her in ſuch terms, as if the preſumptions of her guilt had amounted almoſt to certainty; ſhe blamed her for refuſing to vindicate herſelf from an accuſation which could not be left unanſwered, without a manifeſt injury to her character; and plainly intimated, that unleſs that were done, no change would be made in her preſent ſituation *. She hoped that ſuch a diſcovery of her ſentiments would intimidate Mary, who was ſcarce recovered from the ſhock of the Regent's attack on her reputation, and force her to confirm her reſignation of the Crown, to ratify Murray's authority as Regent, and to conſent that both herſelf and her ſon ſhould reſide in England, under her protection. This ſcheme Elizabeth had much at heart; ſhe propoſed it both to Mary and to her commiſſioners, and neglected no argument, nor artifice, that could poſſibly recommend it. Mary ſaw how fatal this would prove to her reputation, to her pretenſions, and even to her perſonal ſafety. She rejected it without heſitation. "Death, ſaid ſhe, is leſs dreadful than ſuch an ignomi-
"nious ſtep. Rather than give away, with my own hands, the
"Crown which deſcended to me from my anceſtors, I will part
"with life; but the laſt words I utter, ſhall be thoſe of a Queen
"of Scotland †."

* Anderſ. vol. iv. 179, 183. Good. vol. ii. 260.
† Haynes, 497. See Append. N° XXVII. Good. vol. ii. 274, 301.

AT

1568.

At the ſame time ſhe ſeems to have been ſenſible how open her reputation lay to cenſure, while ſhe ſuffered ſuch a public accuſation to remain unanſwered; and though the conference was now diſſolved, ſhe impowered her commiſſioners to preſent a reply to the allegations of her enemies, in which ſhe denied, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the crimes imputed to her; and recriminated upon the Regent and his party, by accuſing them of having deviſed and executed the murther of the King *. The Regent and his aſſociates aſſerted their innocence with great warmth. Mary continued to inſiſt on a perſonal interview, a condition which ſhe knew would never be granted †. Elizabeth urged her to vindicate her own honour. But it is evident from the delays, the evaſions, and ſubterfuges, to which both Queens had recourſe by turns, that Mary avoided, and Elizabeth did not deſire to make any further progreſs in the inquiry.

Decem. 24.

1569.

Febr. 2. Diſmiſſes the Regent without either approving or condemning his conduct.

The Regent was now impatient to return into Scotland, where his adverſaries were endeavouring, in his abſence, to raiſe ſome commotions. Before he ſet out, he was called into the Privy Council, to receive a final declaration of Elizabeth's ſentiments. Cecil acquainted him, in her name, that on one hand nothing had been objected to his conduct, which ſhe could reckon detrimental to his honour, or inconſiſtent with his duty; nor had he, on the other hand, produced any thing againſt his Sovereign, on which ſhe could found an unfavourable opinion of her actions; and for this reaſon, ſhe reſolved to leave all the affairs of Scotland, preciſely in the ſame ſituation, in which ſhe had found them, at the be-

* Good. 2. 285. † Ibid. 283. Cabbala, 157.

Book V. 1569. ginning of the conference. The Queen's commiſſioners were diſmiſſed much in the ſame manner *.

But ſecretly ſupports his party.

After the attention of both nations had been fixed ſo earneſtly on this conference, upwards of four months, ſuch a concluſion of the whole appears, at firſt ſight, trifling and ridiculous. Nothing, however, could be more conformable to Elizabeth's original views, or more ſubſervient to her future ſchemes. Notwithſtanding her ſeeming partiality, ſhe had no thoughts of continuing neuter; nor was ſhe at any loſs on whom to beſtow her protection. Before the Regent left London, ſhe ſupplied him with a conſiderable ſum of money, and engaged to ſupport the King's authority, to the utmoſt of her power †. Mary, by her own conduct, fortified this reſolution. Enraged at the repeated inſtances of Elizabeth's artifice and deceit, which ſhe had diſcovered during the progreſs of the conference, and deſpairing of ever obtaining any ſuccour from her, ſhe endeavoured to rouze her own adherents in Scotland to arms, by imputing ſuch deſigns to Elizabeth and Murray, as could not fail to inſpire every Scotchman with indignation. Murray, ſhe pretended, had agreed to convey the Prince her ſon into England; to ſurrender to Elizabeth the places of greateſt ſtrength in the kingdom; and to acknowledge the dependance of the Scotch upon the Engliſh nation. In return for this, he was to be declared the lawful heir of the Crown of Scotland; and, at the ſame time, the queſtion with regard to the Engliſh ſucceſſion was to be decided in favour of the Earl of Hartford, who had promiſed to marry one of Cecil's daughters. An account

* Good. 2. 315. 333. † Id. 213. Carte, 3. 478.

of

of theſe wild and chimerical projects was ſpread induſtriouſly among the Scots. Elizabeth, perceiving it was calculated of purpoſe to bring her government into diſreputation, laboured to deſtroy its effects, by a counter-proclamation, and became more diſguſted than ever with the Scottiſh Queen *. Book V. 1569.

THE Regent, on his return, found the kingdom in the utmoſt tranquillity. But the rage of the Queen's adherents, which had been ſuſpended in expectation that the conference in England would terminate to her advantage, was now ready to break out with all the violence of civil war. They were encouraged, too, by the appearance of a leader, whoſe high quality and pretenſions intitled him to great authority in the nation. This was the Duke of Chatelherault, who had reſided for ſome years in France, and was now ſent over by that court, with a ſmall ſupply of money, in hopes that the preſence of the firſt nobleman in the kingdom would ſtrengthen the Queen's faction. Elizabeth had detained him in England, for ſome months, under various pretences, but was obliged at laſt to ſuffer him to proceed on his journey. Before his departure, Mary inveſted him with the high dignity of her Lieutenant General in Scotland, together with the fantaſtic title of her adopted father. Efforts of Mary's adherents againſt him. Feb. 25.

THE Regent did not give him time to form his party into any regular body. He aſſembled an army, with his uſual expedition, and marched to Glaſgow. The followers of Argyll and Huntly, who compoſed the chief part of the Queen's faction, lying in very diſtant corners of the kingdom, and many of the Duke's depen- His vigorous conduct breaks her party.

* Haynes, 500, 503. See Append. N° XXVIII.

dants

Book V. 1569. dants having fallen, or having been taken in the battle of Langſide, the ſpirit and ſtrength of his adherents was totally broken, and an accommodation with the Regent was the only thing, which could prevent the deſtruction of his eſtate and vaſſals. This was effected without difficulty; and on no unreaſonable terms. The Duke promiſed to acknowledge the authority both of the King and of the Regent; and to claim no juriſdiction in conſequence of the commiſſion, which he had received from the Queen. The Regent bound himſelf to repeal the act, which had paſſed for attainting ſeveral of the Queen's adherents; to reſtore all, who would ſubmit to the King's government, to the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and honours; and to hold a Convention, wherein all the differences between the two parties ſhould be ſettled by mutual conſent. The Duke gave hoſtages for his faithful performance of the treaty; and, in token of their ſincerity, he and Lord Herreis accompanied the Regent to Stirling, and viſited the young King. The Regent ſet at liberty the priſoners taken at Langſide *.

Argyll and Huntly refuſed to be included in this treaty. A ſecret negociation was carrying on, in England, in favour of the captive Queen, with ſo much ſucceſs, that her affairs began to wear a better aſpect, and her return into her own kingdom ſeemed to be an event not very diſtant. The French King had lately obtained ſuch advantages over the Hugonots, that the extinction of that party appeared to be inevitable, and France, by recovering domeſtic tranquillity, would be no longer prevented from protecting her friends in Britain. Theſe circumſtances not only influenced Argyll and Huntly, but made ſo deep an impreſſion on the Duke,

* Cabbala, 161. Crawf. Mem. 106.

that

that he appeared to be wavering and irreſolute, and plainly diſcovered that he wiſhed to evade the accompliſhment of the treaty. The Regent ſaw the danger of allowing the Duke to ſhake himſelf looſe, in this manner, from his engagements; and inſtantly formed a reſolution equally bold, and politic. He commanded his guards to ſeize Chatelherault in his own houſe in Edinburgh, whither he had come, in order to attend the Convention agreed upon; and, regardleſs either of his dignity as the firſt nobleman in the kingdom, and next heir to the Crown, or of the promiſes of perſonal ſecurity, on which he had relied, committed him and Lord Herreis, priſoners to the caſtle of Edinburgh *. A blow ſo fatal and unexpected diſpirited the party. Argyll ſubmitted to the King's government, and made his peace with the Regent, on very eaſy terms; and Huntly, being left alone, was at laſt obliged to lay down his arms.

April 16.

Soon after, Lord Boyd returned into Scotland, and brought letters to the Regent both from the Engliſh and Scottiſh Queens. A Convention was held at Perth, in order to conſider them. Elizabeth's letter contained three different propoſals with regard to Mary; that ſhe ſhould either be reſtored to the full poſſeſſion of her former authority; or be admitted to reign jointly with the King her ſon; or at leaſt be allowed to reſide in Scotland, in ſome decent retirement, without any ſhare in the adminiſtration of government. Theſe overtures were extorted by the importunity of Fenelon the French ambaſſador, and have ſome appearance of being favourable to the captive Queen. They were, however, perfectly ſuitable to Elizabeth's general ſyſtem with regard to Scottiſh affairs. Among propoſitions ſo inequal and diſproportionate, ſhe

July 21. A propoſal in favour of Mary rejected.

* Crawf. Mem. 111. Melv. 202.

eaſily

Book V. 1569.

eaſily ſaw where the choice would fall. The two former were rejected; and long delays muſt neceſſarily have intervened, and many difficulties have ariſen, before every circumſtance relative to the laſt could be finally adjuſted *.

Norfolk's ſcheme for marrying the Queen of Scots.

Mary, in her letter, demanded that her marriage with Bothwell ſhould be reviewed by the proper judges, and if found invalid, ſhould be diſſolved by a legal ſentence of divorce. This fatal marriage was the principal ſource of all the calamities ſhe had endured for two years; a divorce was the only thing which could repair the injuries, her reputation had ſuffered by that ſtep. It was her intereſt to have propoſed it early; and it is not eaſy to account for her long ſilence with reſpect to this point. Her particular motive for propoſing it, at this time, began to be ſo well known, that the demand was rejected by the Convention of eſtates. They imputed it not ſo much to any abhorrence of Bothwell, as to her eagerneſs to conclude a marriage with the Duke of Norfolk.

This marriage was the object of that ſecret negociation in England, which we have already mentioned; but, like all thoſe concerted for the relief of the Queen of Scots, it ended tragically. The fertile and projecting genius of Maitland firſt conceived this ſcheme. During the Conference at York, he communicated it to the Duke himſelf, and to the Biſhop of Roſs. The former readily cloſed with a ſcheme, ſo flattering to his ambition. The latter conſidered it as a probable device for reſtoring his Miſtreſs to liberty, and replacing her on her throne. Nor was Mary, with whom Norfolk held a correſpondence, by means of his ſiſter Lady Scroop, averſe from a meaſure, which would have reſtored her to

* Spotſ. 230.

her

her kingdom, with ſo much ſplendor *. The ſudden removal of the conference from York to Weſtminſter ſuſpended, but did not break off this intrigue. Maitland and Roſs were ſtill the Duke's prompters, and his agents; and many letters and love-tokens were exchanged between him and the Queen of Scots. BOOK V. 1569.

Conceals it from Elizabeth.

BUT as he could not hope, that under an adminiſtration ſo vigilant as Elizabeth's, ſuch an intrigue could be kept long concealed, he attempted to deceive her by the appearance of openneſs and candor, an artifice which ſeldom fails of ſucceſs. He mentioned to her the rumour, which was ſpread of his marriage with the Scottiſh Queen; he complained of it as a groundleſs calumny; and diſclaimed all thoughts of that kind, with many expreſſions full of contempt, both for Mary's character, and dominions. Jealous as Elizabeth was of every thing relative to the Queen of Scots, ſhe ſeems to have credited theſe profeſſions †. But, inſtead of diſcontinuing the negociation, he renewed it with greater vigour, and admitted into it new aſſociates. Among theſe was the Regent of Scotland. He had given great offence to Norfolk, by his public accuſation of the Queen, in breach of the concert into which he had entered at York. He was then ready to return into Scotland. The influence of the Duke, in the North of England, was great. The Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, the moſt powerful noblemen in that part of the kingdom, threatened to revenge upon the Regent, the injuries which he had done his Sovereign. In order to ſecure his ſafe retreat, he addreſſed himſelf to Norfolk, and, after ſome apology for his paſt conduct, he inſinuated that the

* Camd. 419. Haynes, 573, State Trials, 1. 73.

† Haynes, 574. State Trials, 1. 79, 80.

Book V. 1569. Duke's ſcheme of marrying the Queen his ſiſter was no leſs acceptable to him, than beneficial to both kingdoms; and that he would concur, with the utmoſt ardor, in promoting ſo deſireable an event *. Norfolk heard him with the credulity, natural to thoſe, who are paſſionately bent upon any deſign. He wrote to the two Earls to deſiſt from any hoſtile attempt againſt Murray, and to that he owed his paſſage through the Northern Counties, without diſturbance.

Gains the conſent of the Engliſh nobles.

ENCOURAGED by his ſucceſs in gaining the Regent, he next attempted to draw the Engliſh nobles to approve his deſign. The nation began to deſpair of Elizabeth's marrying. Her jealouſy kept the queſtion with regard to the right of ſucceſſion undecided. The memory of the civil wars, which had deſolated England for more than a century, on account of the diſputed titles of the houſes of York and Lancaſter, was ſtill recent. Almoſt the whole ancient nobility had periſhed, and the nation itſelf had been brought to the brink of deſtruction, in that unhappy conteſt. The Scottiſh Queen, though her right of ſucceſſion was generally held to be undoubted, might meet with formidable competitors. She might marry a foreign and a Popiſh Prince, and bring both liberty and religion into danger. But, by marrying her to an Engliſhman, a zealous Proteſtant, the moſt powerful and moſt univerſally beloved of all the nobles, an effectual remedy ſeemed to be provided againſt all theſe evils. The greater part of the Peers, either directly, or tacitly, approved of it, as a ſalutary project. The Earls of Arundel, Pembroke, Leiceſter, and Lord Lumley ſubſcribed a letter to the Scottiſh Queen, written with Leiceſter's hand, in which

* And. 3. 34.

they

they warmly recommended the match, but inſiſted, by way of preliminary, on Mary's promiſe, that ſhe ſhould attempt nothing, in conſequence of her pretenſions to the Engliſh Crown, prejudicial to Elizabeth or to her poſterity; that ſhe ſhould conſent to a league offenſive and defenſive between the two kingdoms; that ſhe ſhould confirm the preſent eſtabliſhment of religion in Scotland; and receive into favour ſuch of her ſubjects as had appeared in arms againſt her. Upon her agreeing to the marriage, and ratifying theſe articles, they engaged that the Engliſh nobles would not only concur in reſtoring her, immediately, to her own throne, but in ſecuring to her that of England, in reverſion. Mary readily conſented to all theſe propoſals, except the ſecond, with regard to which, ſhe demanded ſome time for conſulting her ancient ally the French King *.

The whole of this negociation was induſtriouſly concealed from Elizabeth. Her jealouſy of the Scottiſh Queen was well known, nor could it be expected, that ſhe would willingly come into a meaſure, which tended ſo viſibly to ſave the reputation, and to increaſe the power of her rival. But, in a matter of ſo much conſequence to the nation, the taking a few ſteps without her knowledge, could ſcarce be reckoned criminal; and while every perſon concerned, even Mary and Norfolk themſelves, declared that nothing ſhould be concluded without obtaining her conſent, the duty and allegiance of ſubjects ſeemed to be fully preſerved. The greater part of the nobles regarded the matter in this light. Thoſe who conducted the intrigue, had farther and more dangerous views. They ſaw the advantages which Mary procured by this treaty, to be preſent and certain; and the execution of the promiſes which ſhe came

* Anderſ. vol. iii. 51. Camd. 420.

Book V. 1569.

under, to be distant and uncertain. They had early communicated their scheme to the Kings of France and Spain, and obtained their approbation *. A treaty, concerning which they consulted foreign Princes, while they concealed it from their own Sovereign, could not be deemed innocent. They hoped, however, that the union of so many nobles would render it necessary for Elizabeth to comply; they flattered themselves, that a combination so strong would be altogether irresistible; and such was their confidence of success, that when a plan was concerted, in the north of England, for rescuing Mary out of the hands of her keepers, Norfolk, who was afraid that if she recovered liberty, her sentiments in his favour might change, used all his interest to dissuade the conspirators from attempting it †.

In this situation did the affair remain, when Lord Boyd arrived from England; and, besides the letters which he produced publickly, brought others in cyphers from Norfolk and Throgmorton to the Regent, and to Maitland. These were full of the most sanguine hopes. The whole nobles of England concurred, said they, in favouring the design. Every preliminary was adjusted; nor was it possible that a scheme so deep laid, conducted with so much art, and supported both by power and by numbers, could miscarry, or be defeated in the execution. Nothing now was wanting, but the concluding ceremony. It depended on the Regent to hasten that, by procuring a sentence of divorce, which would remove the only obstacle that stood in the way. This was expected of him, in consequence of his promise to Norfolk; and if he regarded either his interest or his fame, or even his safety, he would not fail to fulfil these engagements ‡.

* Anders. vol. iii. 63. † Camd. 420. ‡ Haynes, 520. Spots. 230. See Appendix, N° XXIX.

But,

BUT the Regent was now in very different circumſtances, from thoſe which had formerly induced him to affect an approbation of Norfolk's ſchemes. He ſaw that the downfal of his own power muſt be the firſt conſequence of the Duke's ſucceſs. And if the Queen, who conſidered him as the chief author of all her misfortunes, ſhould recover her ancient authority, he could never expect favour, nor ſcarce hope for impunity. No wonder he declined a ſtep ſo fatal to himſelf, and which would have eſtabliſhed the grandeur of another on the ruins of his own. This refuſal occaſioned a delay. But, as every other circumſtance was ſettled, the Biſhop of Roſs, in name of his Miſtreſs, and the Duke, in perſon, declared, in preſence of the French Ambaſſador, their mutual conſent to the marriage, and a contract to this purpoſe was ſigned, and entruſted to the keeping of the Ambaſſador *. BOOK V. 1569.

THE intrigue was now in ſo many hands, that it could not long remain a ſecret. It began to be whiſpered at court; and Elizabeth calling the Duke into her preſence, expreſſed the utmoſt indignation at his conduct, and charged him to lay aſide all thoughts of proſecuting ſuch a dangerous deſign. Soon after, Leiceſter, who perhaps had countenanced the project with no other intention, revealed the whole circumſtances of it to the Queen. Pembroke, Arundel, Lumly, and Throgmorton were confined, and examined. Mary was watched more narrowly than ever; and Haſtings Earl of Huntington, who pretended to diſpute with the Scottiſh Queen, her right to the ſucceſſion, being joined in commiſſion with Shrewſbury, rendered her impriſonment more intolerable, by the exceſs of his vigilance and rigour †. The Scottiſh Regent, threatened

Auguſt 13. Elizabeth diſcovers the Duke's deſign, and defeats it.

* Carte, vol. iii. 486. † Haynes, 525, 526, 530, 532.

with

Book V. 1569. with Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, meanly betrayed the Duke; put his letters in her hands; and furniſhed all the intelligence in his power *. The Duke himſelf retired firſt to Howard-houſe, and then, in contempt of a ſummons to appear before the Privy Council, fled to his ſeat in Norfolk. Intimidated by the impriſonment of his aſſociates; coldly received by his friends in that county; unprepared for a rebellion; and unwilling perhaps to rebel; he heſitated for ſome

October 3. days, and at laſt obeyed a ſecond call, and repaired to Windſor. He was firſt kept as a priſoner in a private houſe, and then ſent to the Tower. After being confined there upwards of nine months, he was releaſed upon his humble ſubmiſſion to Elizabeth, giving her a promiſe, on his allegiance, to hold no farther correſpondence with the Scottiſh Queen †. During the progreſs of Norfolk's negociation's, the Queen's partizans in Scotland, who made no doubt of their iſſuing in her reſtoration to the throne, with an increaſe of

Maitland impriſoned by the Regent. authority, were wonderfully elevated. Maitland was the ſoul of that party, and the perſon, whoſe activity and abilities the Regent chiefly dreaded. He had laid the plan of that intrigue, which had kindled ſuch combuſtion in England. He continued to foment the ſpirit of diſaffection in Scotland, and had ſeduced from the Regent Lord Home, Kirkaldy, and ſeveral of his former aſſociates. While he enjoyed liberty, the Regent could not reckon his own power ſecure. For this reaſon, he employed Captain Crawfurd, one of his creatures, to accuſe him of being acceſſory to the murder of the King; and under that pretence carried him a priſoner to Edinburgh. He would ſoon have been brought to trial, but was ſaved by the friendſhip of Kirkaldy, governor of the caſtle, who, by pretending a warrant for that purpoſe from the Regent, got him out of the hands of the perſon, to whoſe care he was committed,

* See Append. N° XXX. † Haynes, 520, 597.

and

and conducted him into the caſtle, which, from that time, was entirely under Maitland's command. The loſs of a place of ſo much importance, and the defection of a man ſo eminent for military ſkill as Kirkaldy, brought the Regent into ſome diſreputation, for which, however, the ſucceſs of his ally Elizabeth abundantly compenſated. Book V. 1569.

THE intrigue carried on for reſtoring the Scottiſh Queen to liberty having been diſcovered, and diſappointed, an attempt was made, to the ſame purpoſe, by force of arms; but with no better ſucceſs. The Earls of Northumberland and Weſtmorland, though little diſtinguiſhed by their perſonal merit, were two of the moſt ancient and powerful of the Engliſh peers. Their eſtates in the northern counties were great, and they poſſeſſed that influence over the inhabitants, which was hereditary in the popular and martial families of Percy and of Nevil. They were both attached to the Popiſh religion, and diſcontented with the court, where new men, and a new ſyſtem prevailed. Ever ſince Mary's arrival in England, they had warmly eſpouſed her intereſt, and zeal for popery, oppoſition to the court, and commiſeration of her ſufferings, had engaged them in different plots for her relief. Notwithſtanding the vigilance of her keepers, they held a cloſe correſpondence with her, and communicated to her all their deſigns *. They were privy to Norfolk's ſchemes; but the caution with which he proceeded did not ſuit their ardor and impetuoſity. The liberty of the Scottiſh Queen was not their ſole object. They aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For this reaſon, they ſolicited the aid of the King of Spain, the avowed and zealous patron of Popery in that age. No- A rebellion againſt Elizabeth by Mary's adherents.

* Haynes, 595. Murdin, 44, 62, &c.

thing

Book V. 1569.

thing could be more delightful to the reſtleſs ſpirit of Philip, or more neceſſary towards facilitating his ſchemes in the Netherlands, than the involving England in the confuſion and miſeries of a civil war. The Duke of Alva, by his direction, encouraged the two Earls, and promiſed, ſo ſoon as they either took the field with their forces, or ſurpriſed any place of ſtrength, or reſcued the Queen of Scots, that he would ſupply them both with money, and a ſtrong body of troops. La Mothe, the governor of Dunkirk, in the diſguiſe of a ſailor, ſounded the ports where it would be moſt proper to land. And Chiapini Vitelli, one of Alva's ableſt officers, was diſpatched into England, on pretence of ſettling ſome commercial differences between the two nations; but in reality, that the rebels might be ſure of a leader of experience, ſo ſoon as they ventured to take arms *.

Defeated.

THE conduct of this negociation occaſioned many meetings and meſſages between the two Earls. Elizabeth was informed of theſe; and though ſhe ſuſpected nothing of their real deſign, ſhe concluded that they were among the number of Norfolk's confidents. They were ſummoned, for this reaſon, to repair to court. Conſcious of guilt, and afraid of diſcovery, they delayed giving obedience. A ſecond, and more peremptory order was iſſued. This they could not decline, without ſhaking off their allegiance. And

Novem. 9.

as no time was left for deliberation, they inſtantly erected their ſtandard againſt their Sovereign. The re-eſtabliſhing the catholic religion; the ſettling the order of ſucceſſion to the Crown; the defence of the ancient nobility; were the motives they alledged to juſtify their rebellion †. Many of the lower people flocked to them, with ſuch arms they could procure; and had the capacity of

* Carte, vol. iii. 489, 490. Camd. 421. † Strype, vol. i. 547.

the

the leaders been, in any degree, equal to the enterprize, it muſt have ſoon grown to be extremely formidable. Elizabeth acted with prudence and vigour; and was ſerved by her ſubjects with fidelity and ardor. On the firſt rumour of an inſurrection, Mary was removed to Coventry, a place of ſtrength, which could not be taken without a regular ſiege; a detachment of the rebels, which was ſent to reſcue her, returned without ſucceſs. Troops were aſſembled in differents parts of the kingdom; as they advanced, the male-contents retired. In their retreat their numbers dwindled away, and their ſpirits ſunk. Deſpair and uncertainty whither to direct their flight, kept together, for ſome time, a ſmall body of them, among the mountains of Northumberland. But they were at length obliged to diſperſe, and the chiefs took refuge among the Scottiſh borderers. The two Earls, together with the Counteſs of Northumberland, wandering for ſome days in the waſtes of Liddiſdale, were plundered by the banditti, expoſed to the rigours of the ſeaſon, and left deſtitute of the neceſſaries of life. Weſtmorland was concealed by Scot of Buccleugh and Ker of Ferniherſt, and afterwards conveyed into the Netherlands. Northumberland was ſeized by the Regent, who had marched with ſome troops towards the borders, to prevent any impreſſion the rebels might make on thoſe mutinous provinces *.

1569.

December 21.

Amidst ſo many ſurpriſing events, the affairs of the church, for two years, have almoſt eſcaped our notice. Its General Aſſemblies were held regularly; but no buſineſs of much importance employed their attention. As the number of the Proteſtant clergy daily encreaſed, the deficiency of the funds, ſet apart for their ſub-

Church affairs

* Cabbala, 171. Camd. 422.

Book V. 1569. sistance, became greater. Many efforts were made towards recovering the ancient patrimony of the church, or at least so much of it, as was possessed by the Popish incumbents, a race of men, who were, now, not only useless, but burdensome to the nation. But tho' the manner in which the Regent received their addresses and complaints, was very different from that to which they had been accustomed, no effectual remedy was provided; and while they suffered intolerable oppression, and groaned under the most extreme poverty, fair words, and liberal promises, were all they were able to obtain *.

1570. Elizabeth resolves to give up Mary to the Regent.

ELIZABETH began now to be weary of keeping such a dangerous prisoner as the Scottish Queen. During the former year, the tranquillity of her government had been disturbed, first by a secret combination of some of her nobles, then by the rebellion of others; and she often declared, not without reason, that Mary was the *hidden cause* of both. Many of her own subjects favoured, or pitied the captive Queen; the Roman Catholic Princes on the continent were warmly interested in her cause. The detaining her any longer in England, she foresaw, would be made the pretext or occasion of perpetual cabals and insurrections among the former, and might expose her to the hostile attempts of the latter. She resolved, therefore, to give up Mary into the hands of the Regent, whose security, no less than her own, depended on preventing her from re-ascending the throne. The negociation for this purpose was carried some length, when it was discovered by the vigilance of the Bishop of Ross, who, together with the French and Spanish Ambassadors, remonstrated against the infamy of such an action, and represented the surrendering the Queen to her rebellious sub-

* Cald. vol. ii. 80, &c.

jects,

jects, to be the ſame thing, as if Elizabeth ſhould, by her own authority, condemn her to inſtant death. This procured a delay; and the murder of the Regent prevented the revival of that deſign *. BOOK V. 1570.

HAMILTON of Bothwellhaugh was the perſon who committed this barbarous action. He had been condemned to death ſoon after the battle of Langſide, as we have already related, and owed his life to the Regent's clemency. But part of his eſtate had been beſtowed upon one of the Regent's favourites, who ſeized his houſe, and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the open fields, where, before next morning, ſhe became furiouſly mad. This injury made a deeper impreſſion on him, than the benefit he had received, and from that moment he vowed to be revenged upon the Regent. Party-rage ſtrengthened and inflamed his private reſentment. His kinſmen the Hamiltons applauded the enterprize. The maxims of that age juſtified the moſt deſperate courſe he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the Regent for ſome time, and watched for an opportunity to ſtrike the blow. He reſolved at laſt to wait till his enemy ſhould arrive at Linlithgow, through which he was to paſs in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. He took his ſtand in a wooden gallery, which had a window towards the ſtreet; ſpread a feather-bed on the floor, to hinder the noiſe of his feet from being heard; hung up a black cloth behind him, that his ſhadow might not be obſerved from without; and after all this preparation, calmly expected the Regent's approach, who had lodged during the night in a houſe not far diſtant. Some indiſtinct information of the danger which threatened him, had been

But he is murdered.

* Carte, vol. iii. 491. Anderſ. vol. iii. 84.

Book V. 1570. conveyed to the Regent, and he paid ſo much regard to it, that he reſolved to return by the ſame gate through which he had entered, and to fetch a compaſs round the town. But as the croud about the gate was great, and he himſelf unacquainted with fear, he proceeded directly along the ſtreet; and the throng of the people obliging him to move very ſlowly, gave the aſſaſſin time to take ſo true an aim, that he ſhot him with a ſingle bullet, through the lower part of his belly, and killed the horſe of a gentleman who rode on his other ſide. His followers inſtantly endeavoured to break into the houſe whence the blow had come, but they found the door ſtrongly barricaded; and before it could be forced open, Hamilton had mounted a fleet horſe, which ſtood ready for him at a back-paſſage, and was got far beyond their reach. The Regent died the ſame night of his wound.

His character. THERE is no perſon, in that age, about whom hiſtorians have been more divided, or whoſe character has been drawn with ſuch oppoſite colours. Perſonal intrepidity, military ſkill, ſagacity and vigour in the adminiſtration of civil affairs, are virtues, which even his enemies allow him to have poſſeſſed, in an eminent degree. His moral qualities are more dubious, and ought neither to be praiſed, nor cenſured, without great reſerve, and many diſtinctions. In a fierce age, he was capable of uſing victory with humanity, and of treating the vanquiſhed with moderation. A patron of learning, which, among martial nobles, was either unknown, or deſpiſed. Zealous for religion, to a degree, which diſtinguiſhed him, even at a time, when profeſſions of that kind were not uncommon. His confidence in his friends was extreme, and inferior only to his libe-

* Buchan. 385. Crawf. Mem. 124.

rality

rality towards them, which knew no bounds. A diſintereſted paſ- BOOK V.
ſion for the liberty of his country, prompted him to oppoſe the per- 1570.
nicious ſyſtem, which the Princes of Lorrain had obliged the Queen-mother to purſue. On Mary's return into Scotland, he ſerved her with a zeal and affection, to which he ſacrificed the friendſhip of thoſe who were moſt attached to his perſon. But, on the other hand, his ambition was immoderate; and events happened, that opened to him vaſt proſpects, which allured his enterpriſing genius, and led him to actions, inconſiſtent with the duty of a ſubject. His treatment of the Queen, to whoſe bounty he was ſo much indebted, was unbrotherly and ingrateful. The dependance on Elizabeth, under which he brought Scotland, was diſgraceful to the nation. He deceived and betrayed Norfolk, with a baſeneſs unworthy of a man of honour. His elevation to ſuch unexpected dignity, inſpired him with new paſſions, with haughtineſs and reſerve; and inſtead of his natural manner, which was blunt and open, he affected the arts of diſſimulation and refinement. Fond, towards the end of his life, of flattery, and impatient of advice, his creatures, by ſoothing his vanity, led him aſtray, while his ancient friends ſtood at a diſtance, and predicted his approaching fall. But, amidſt the turbulence and confuſion of that factious period, he diſpenſed juſtice with ſo much impartiality, he repreſſed the licentious borderers with ſo much courage, and eſtabliſhed ſuch uncommon order and tranquillity in the country, that his adminiſtration was extremely popular, and he was long and affectionately remembered among the commons, by the name of the *Good Regent*.

The END of the FIRST VOLUME.

BOOKS printed for, and ſold by A. MILLAR *in the* Strand, LONDON.

FOLIO.

1. THE *Hiſtory* and *Antiquities* of *Scotland*, from the earlieſt Account of Time, to the Death of *James* I. *anno* 1437. By *William Maitland*, F. R. S. And from that Period to the *Acceſſion* of *James* VI. to the *Crown* of *England*, Anno 1603. By another Hand. The whole compiled from the moſt authentick Vouchers.

It ought to be obſerved, that as it was for many Centuries the Policy of both England *and* France, *to be allied with* Scotland, *ſo there is no underſtanding the Hiſtories of thoſe Nations, without a thorough Knowledge of that of the* Scots, *which however cannot be be obtained from any Hiſtory of that People hitherto publiſhed.*

2. An *Univerſal Hiſtory*, from the earlieſt Account of Time to the preſent. Illuſtrated with Maps, Cuts, Chronological and other Tables. In 10 vols. or 21 in 8vo.

3. The Hiſtory of the *Growth* and *Decay* of the *Othman Empire*, in 2 Parts, adorned with 22 Heads of the *Turkiſh Emperors*. Tranſlated from the *Latin* of *Demetrius Cantemir*, late Prince of *Moldavia*. By *N. Tindal*, M. A.

4. A *Complete Syſtem of Geography:* Illuſtrated with 70 *Maps*. In 2 vols.

5. *Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times*. In 2 vols. or 4 vols. 8vo.

Biſhop Burnet's Hiſtory of the *Reformation* of the *Church of England*. The 3d Part. Being a Supplement to the 2 vols. formerly publiſhed.

6. *Britannia:* Or, a Chorographical Deſcription of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*. Written by *William Camden Clarenceux*, King at Arms; and tranſlated into *Engliſh*, with Additions and Improvements. Reviſed, digeſted, and publiſhed, with large Additions, by *Edm. Gibſon*, D. D. late Lord Biſhop of *London*. The 3d Edition. Illuſtrated with Maps of all the Counties, and Prints of the *Britiſh*, *Roman*, and *Saxon* Coins. In 2 vols.

7. The genuine *Works* of *Flavius Joſephus*, the *Jewiſh* Hiſtorian. Tranſlated from the Original *Greek*, according to *Havercamp*'s accurate Edition, into *Engliſh*.

With an Account of the *Jewiſh* Coins, Weights, and Meaſures. In 2 vols. Royal Paper. By *William Whiſton*, M. A. ſome Time Profeſſor of the Mathematicks in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*.

The ſame Book in 1 vol. on a ſmaller Paper, or in 4 vols. in 8vo.

QUARTO.

8. A New Hiſtory of *Great-Britain*. In 2 vols. Vol. I. Containing the Reigns of *James* I. and *Charles* I. Vol. II. Containing the Commonwealth, and the Reigns of *Charles* II. and *James* II. By *David Hume*, Eſq;

9. Eſſays and Treatiſes on ſeveral Subjects, in 1 vol. By *David Hume*, Eſq; To which is added, an Index.

The ſame, in 5 vols. 12mo.

10. *Memoirs* of the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*, from the Year 1581, till her *Death*. By *Thomas Birch*, D. D. F. R. S. In 2 vols.

11. The Hiſtory of *Philoſophy:* Containing the *Lives*, *Opinions*, *Actions*, and *Diſcourſes* of the *Philoſophers* of every *Sect*. By *Thomas Stanley*, Eſq; The Fourth Edition. In which the *innumerable* Miſtakes, both in the *Text* and *Notes* of all former Editions are *corrected*; the *Citations* and *References* exactly adjuſted, and compared throughout with the *Originals*, and with the *Latin Tranſlation*, printed at *Leipſick*.

12. An Hiſtorical Account of the *Britiſh* Trade over the Caſpian Sea; with the Author's Journal of Travels from *England* through *Ruſſia* into *Perſia*; and back through *Ruſſia*, *Germany*, and *Holland*. To which are added, the Revolutions of *Perſia* during the preſent Century, with the Particular Hiſtory of the Great Uſurper *Nadi Kouli*. Illuſtrated with Maps and Copper-plates. The 2d Edition, reviſed and corrected. In 2 vols. By *Jan. Hanway*, Merchant.

FOLIO;

FOLIO.

13. *JAC. Auguſti Thuani Hiſtoria ſui Temporis.* Edita per *S. Buckley.* In 7 vols.

14. The *Works* of the Hon. *Robert Boyle.* To which is prefixed, *A new Account of his Life*, conſiſting partly of Memoirs, drawn up by himſelf. In 5 vols.

15. The *Works* of *Francis Bacon*, Lord High Chancellor of *England.* With ſeveral *additional Pieces*, never before printed in any Edition of his Works. To which is prefixed, a New Life of the Author. By Mr. *Mallet.* In three vols. The 3d Edition.

The *Additional Pieces* and *Life* may be had alone, to complete the firſt Edition of the 4 vols. in 1730.

16. The *Oceana*, and other Works of *James Harrington*, Eſq; The 3d Edition. To which is now added, an *Index.*

The *Appendix* may be had alone, to complete thoſe Gentlemen's Books, who have bought Mr. *Toland*'s Edition.

17. An *Hiſtorical* and *Political Diſcourſe* of the *Laws* and *Government* of *England.* By *Nathaniel Bacon* of *Grays-Inn*, Eſq; The 4th Edition. Corrected and improved by a Gentleman of the *Middle-Temple.*

18. The *Works* of *Edmund Ludlow.* Containing his *Memoirs* and other *Tracts*, now collected into one vol. To which is prefixed, the Life of the Author, by the Editor.

19. *Diſcourſes* concerning *Government.* By *Algernon Sidney.* To which is added, ſome Letters of Mr. *Sidney*'s never before publiſhed, and a Life of the Author, by *Thomas Birch*, D. D. and S. R. S, With a copious Index.

There are a few of the above Seven Books printed on a ſuperfine Writing-Paper.

20. All the *Works* of *John Locke*, Eſq; with *Alphabetical Tables.* The 5th Edition. In 3 vols.

21. The Ruins of *Palmyra*, otherwiſe *Tedmor* in the *Deſart.* This Work contains 59 Plates of the *Ruins*, and 3 of *Inſcriptions*, chiefly in the *Greek* and *Palmyrian* Languages, with large *Explications.* To which are prefixed, the Publiſher's Account of the Undertaking. An Inquiry into the ancient State of *Palmyra*, and a Journal of the Paſſage through the *Deſart.*

The above Work is elegantly printed in *French.*

22. The *Ruins* of *Balbec*, anciently *Heliopolis.* in *Cœloſyria*, near the Source of the *Orontes*, and within 15 Leagues of *Damaſcus.* This Work contains Views of the *Ruins* as they are at preſent, with Plans and Elevations of the Buildings, from Drawings and Meaſures taken on the Spot, by the Gentlemen who made the Tour of the *Mediterranean* in 1750 and 1751. And who have given the Publick the *Ruins* of *Palmyra*, as a Specimen of their Labours. To which is prefixed, an Account of the ancient and preſent State of the Place, ſuch as the Materials collected by thoſe Gentlemen afford. The Plates are equal to thoſe of *Palmyra* in Number, and are engraved by the ſame maſterly Hands, and printed on the ſame Size Paper.

The above Work is alſo elegantly printed in *French.*

23. *Anderſoni Theſaurus Diplomatum & Numiſmatum Scotiæ, auxit & locupletavit Rudimannus.*

24 A *Dictionary* of the *Engliſh Language*, in which the Words are deduced from their Originals, and illuſtrated in their different Significations, by Examples from the beſt Writers. To which are prefixed, a *Hiſtory of the Language*, and an *Engliſh Grammar.* In 2 vols. By *Samuel Johnſon*, A. M.

25. A *General Dictionary, Hiſtorical* and *Critical.* By the Reverend Mr. *John Peter Bernard*, the Rev. Dr. *Thomas Birch*, S. R. S. Mr. *John Lockman*, and *other Hands.* In 10 vols. The Oriental Lives, by the late *George Sale*, Eſq;